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SIX SAINTS OF THE COVENANT

SIX SAINTS OF THE COVENANT

PEDEN : SEMPLE : WELWOOD
CAMERON : CARGILL : SMITH

BY PATRICK WALKER

Edited with Illustrative Documents
Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary
BY D. HAY FLEMING
and a Foreword
BY S. R. CROCKETT

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II

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SOME

REMARKABLE PASSAGES

IN THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF THAT SINGULAR EXEMPLARY HOLY IN LIFE, ZEALOUS AND FAITHFUL UNTO THE DEATH,

Mr. *DANIEL CARGILL*

WITH THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF A FEW OF HIS MANY SENTENTIOUS SAYINGS THROUGH HIS LIFE, AND AT HIS DEATH.

And with him Mr. Walter Smith, Mr. James Boig, William Cuthil, and William Thomson, who hang all upon one Gibbet, July 27th, 1681, at the Cross of Edinburgh, and all their five heads hashed and hagged off upon the Scaffold by the common Hangman's bloody Ax: the first three Heads fixt upon the Netherbow-port, and the last two upon the West-port.

Also Twenty two Steps of thirty Years national Defections, and Twenty four Rules for managing Society-meetings for Prayer and Conference, composed by the foresaid Mr. Smith.

EDINBURGH

Printed for, collected and published by, Patrick Walker;

and to be sold at his House within Bristo-port, at the

Upper-gate of the Gray-friars Church.

MDCCXXXII.

Revel. iii. 10. Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I will also keep you from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.

Revel. xii. 11. And they overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of their testimony, and they loved not their lives unto the death.

Job xvii. 9. The righteous also shall hold on his way, and he that hath clean hands shall wax stronger and stronger.

A FEW OF THE MANY REMARKABLE PASSAGES

OF THE

Long life (being past sixty years) and at his bloody death of Mr. Daniel Cargill, a man greatly beloved indeed, who was born in the north, and was eldest son of a singular godly gentleman, and heritor in the parish of Rattray, some miles from Dunkeld.[1] He was commonly called Donald, but his baptized name was Daniel.[2]

First, After he had passed his courses of learning at Aberdeen, he was established minister in the Barony parish of Glasgow,[3] before and at the unhappy restoration of Charles II., May 29, 1660; and was publickly murdered at the Cross of Edinburgh, July 27, 1681, before many witnesses, in that never to be forgotten, unheard-of 28 years of reigning tyrants, and raging tyranny of Prelatical Protestants upon Presbyterian Protestants.

It is a loss, that I cannot give an account how long he was fixed minister in the foresaid parish;[4] only it is certain it was before and at the unhappy Restoration, when hell, Rome, and all their proselytes

and favourites had their invention upon the rack, in their wicked crafty counsels, how to stop and overturn our great covenanted work of Reformation, wherein the right hand of the Lord, that does ever valiantly, was and is remarkable to be seen in the beginning and carrying on through all the periods of this Church; not only from Paganism and Popery, but also abjuring of Prelacy, both in the last article of the National Covenant; but more expresly in the second article of the Solemn League and Covenant betwixt the three nations, wherein all ranks were, and are solemnly and perpetually bound, in their places and stations, to extirpate that old strumpet mother, and eldest beautiful daughter of Antichrist,[5] with which the blinded nations have been and are sadly bewitched; but vile, vile, lothsom and hateful in the eyes of all the zealous serious godly in Scotland, ever since the Lord made light to arise to see her abominations. And it hath been, is, and may be confirming and comforting to all the Lord's people, that our Reformation, in all the steps thereof, hath been of and for the Lord, in that he raised up and continued such a succession of earnest contenders and faithful witnesses through so many ages, that none have exceeded them since the apostles went off the stage. Accordingly the Popish, Prelatical and malignant faction, enemies of God and godliness, began their undermining work in the year 1650 of our covenanted Reformation (that had flourished in a wonderful manner from 1638, eleven years) in their Publick Resolutions, as they were then

called, in getting all places of power and trust filled with men of wicked and corrupt principles and practices, to make way for their getting their chief head Charles II. upon the throne of Britain, which proved effectual, and got their hellish designs accomplished; which was foreseen, foretold and contended against by a handful of worthy ministers and Christians, in these days called Protestors or Remonstrators.[6] Then, in the 60th year, Cromwel the English general with his ten thousand men were called home,[7] who came to Scotland in the end of July, in the 50th year, to arraign the Duke of Hamilton, and many debauchees with him, which were faithfully witnessed against, invading their kingdom in the year 1648, and hindering their king from complying with the Parliament's demands. In that 10 years that they invaded our land, they defiled it with blood, tolerations, and other abominations, which was also faithfully witnessed against by a few of this land. Next, there were so many in State and Church chosen to go to Breda, to transact with, and bring home, their king, whom many of all ranks were, and continue to this day, lusting after that unhappy race; notwithstanding he had got a dispensation from the Pope to come under the oath of our covenants, who pretended both he and his father had signed for many articles to Popish princes, to carry on Rome's interest; which, as I said before, a gentleman that writes upon court-affairs at that time makes plain to the world.[8] Of the commissioners sent from Scotland, famous Mr. John

Livingston was one, contrary to his inclination: which, as he says in his *Memoirs*, he saw, and was fully perswaded, that there was nothing in all their transactions but the height of treachery and perfidy, that a little time would discover, and was unwilling to have sailed the seas with them: but after their king was gone a shipboard, some out of policy prest him to go aboard and take his leave of him; and, assoon as he went aboard, they sent off the boat, and so [he] came home fully perswaded the plague of God was coming to Scotland;[9] nevertheless of his [*i.e.* the king's] dissembling, deceitful, hypocritical, feigned-lipped prayers in his closet, a partition-wall betwixt him and the commissioners sent to treat with him; praying aloud for the advancement of the covenanted Reformation in Scotland, and for the perfecting the work of uniformity betwixt the three nations, according to their solemn vows in the Solemn League and Covenant.

2dly, Many also of the godly at home saw clouds gathering, and a terrible black storm coming on. About this time blest M'Ward, Cargill, and others through the land, who were of one heart and soul, seeing with one eye, thinking with one mind, and speaking with one breath, met at Glasgow to compare notes, and set a day apart for prayer together, to be more and more confirmed of their duty of giving warning of the sin and danger of the malignant courses driven on in that day by fraud and force, especially calling home their head, C. II. Mr. M'Ward was the first that prayed with more

than ordinary inlargement and gale upon his spirit, earnestly begging of the Lord that, in mercy, love, and pity, he would seal, spirit, and fit a remnant to stand stedfast, whatever and from whatsomever airth the winds might blow; and that there might be a succession of faithful witnesses raised up to follow the Lord fully in life and death; but Charles and his interest came not in his way. When ended, they challenged him for it; he said, 'Let alone; if 'it be with you as it hath been with me, they would 'all go the same road'; and so it was with all of them: from whence they concluded, that it would be wasted time and prayers that were spent about him. Mr. Cargill after that was never heard pray for him in publick. His unhappy birth and restoration-day, May 29th, 1660, which was enacted and made an anniversary thanksgiving-day, became a trial to some, and a land-sin and snare to many, and observed to this day, by castle-guns roring, though even upon the Sabbath, at twelve of the clock; which day was Mr. Cargill's ordinary weekly sermon-day. His kirk being very throng, with tears he said, 'Do you expect more or better preaching this day 'than other days? or, is it upon the account of your 'young king? It is like that is many of your 'erands; for me, I desire to be found in the way 'of my duty, being our ordinary day, otherwise 'I would not have preached a word upon that 'account. Rejoice not, O Israel, as other people 'rejoice; for thou art gone awhoring from thy God. 'And this is the first step of our going awhoring,

'which will make way to lead and draw on too 'many long and great; and whoever of the Lord's 'people are this day rejoicing, their joy will be like 'the crackling of thorns under a pot; it will soon 'be turned to mourning; he will be the wofulest 'sight that ever the poor Church of Scotland saw. 'Wo, wo, wo to him; his name shall stink while the 'world stands, for treachery, tyranny and leachery.' I had this account[10] from several old Christians who were his hearers that day; especially that serious, zealous Christian, Robert Goodwin, one of Durham's elders, when in prison with him.

3dly, From his youth he [*i.e.* Cargill] was much given to secret prayer, yea whole nights; and it was observed by some, both in families and when in secret, he always sat straight upon his knees, without resting upon any thing, with his hands lifted up (and some took notice he died the same way with the bloody rope about his neck) especially after the bloody murder of Mr. Cameron, and these worthies with him at Airds-Moss, July 22d, 1680, until the following September, that he excommunicated these wicked men at the Torwood. He was much alone both night and day, and spake little even in company; only to some few he said he had a tout to give with his trumpet, that the Lord had put in his hand, that would sound in the ears of many through Britain and other places in Europe. None knew what he was to do that morning, except Mr. Walter Smith, to whom he imparted the thoughts of his heart. When he began, his best friends feared that some

wicked person would shoot him; his landlord, in whose house he had been that night, cast his coat and ran for it. Some serious, solid Christians, yet alive, who were witnesses to it, can testify, when he ended the sentences of excommunication, he said that, if these unhappy men die the ordinary death of men, God never spake by him. That afternoon he preached upon that text, 'For the Lord will not 'cast off for ever; but though he cause grief, yet 'will he have compassion according to the multi-'tude of his mercies.'[11] In which sermon he touched neither the tyranny nor defections in the land. This confirmed what he says in his dying words, 'How-'ever it be with me at the last, tho' I should be 'straitned by God, or interrupted by men; yet all 'is true, and shall be well: I have followed holiness, 'I have taught truth, I have been most in the main 'things; not that I thought the things concerning 'our times little,' etc.[12]

4thly, The next Sabbath-day he preached at the Fallow-hill, in the west end of Livingstoun parish, upon the borders of Clidesdale. In the preface he said, 'I know I am and will be condemned by many 'for what I have done in excommunicating these 'wicked men; but, condemn me who will, I know I 'am approven of God, and am perswaded that what 'I have done on earth is ratified in heaven: for, if 'ever I knew the mind of God and clear in my call 'to any piece of my generation-work, it was in that; 'and I shall give you two signs whereby you may 'know that I am in no delusion.

'1. If some of these men do not find that sentence 'binding upon them ere they go off the stage, and 'be obliged to confess it from their terror, and to 'the affrightment of others:

'2. If these men die the ordinary death of men, 'then God never sent me, nor spoke by me.'

The first of these was clearly verified in the case of my Lord Rothes, and the second was verified also, to the remembrance of many yet alive. (1) All know that Charles II. was poisoned.[13] (2) His brother, the Duke of York, died in St. Germains in France: I can give no account of his death.[14] (3) The Duke of Monmouth was execute at London.[15] (4) The Duke of Lauderdale turned a belly-god, and died upon the chamber-box.[16] (5) The Duke of Rothes died raving, under the dreadful terrors and sense of that sentence binding upon him, making his bed shake, to the affrightment of all that heard and saw him.[17] (6) Bloody Sir George Mackenzie died at London, with all the passages of his body running blood.[18] (7) General Thomas Dalziel of Binns died with a glass of wine at his mouth in perfect health:[19] but a more particular account of these afterwards, if the Lord will.

5thly, I gave an account in the *Life and Death of Mr. Cameron*,[20] that upon the 18th day of July 1680 they preached together at the Kip-rig in Clidesdale, which was Mr. Cameron's last Sabbath, and were to meet and preach at Craigmad in Stirling-shire the first Sabbath of August, but Mr. Cameron's blood and others ran like water on the 22d July. Mr. Cargill

preached upon the 25th in the parish of Shots, upon that text, 'Know you not that there is a great man 'and prince fallen in our Israel?' He preached upon the 1st day of August at Craigmad, and lectured upon the 22d chapter of Jeremiah, and ran the parallel in so many particulars betwixt Coniah and Charles II., and in the end said, 'If that un-'happy man upon the throne of Britain shall die the 'ordinary death of men, and get the honour of the 'burial of kings, and if he shall have any to succeed 'him lawfully begotten, then God never sent me nor 'spoke by me.' The old, pious, praying Mr. Reid, late minister in Lochrutton in Galloway, Mr. Shiels, and George Lapsly who lived and died at the Bow-head, heard him utter these expressions. They were all at London in the time that he [*i.e.* the king] was poisoned, who made all search to know when, where or how he was buried, but could never find it out, being buried clandestinely;[21] and all know that he had none to succeed him, although many said, and some write, that, if all the women that he lay with in adultery and fornication had conceived and brought forth, his offspring would have been as the stars in the firmament, spending his time only with wine and women, unconcerned about heaven or hell, and easy about all religions. Not driving on Rome's interest as they expected, and [as] he engaged when abroad with the Popish princes; his brother the Duke of York being a sworn vassel of Anti-christ, and longing to be at the throne, that he might be more active in all mischiefs, made them

all conspire to give him a dose, and send him off. The foresaid friends at London said to me that it was commonly reported that, when he found the poison working upon him, he sat up in his bed, having one of his many whores in bed with him, as was his ordinar, and took a snuff; and it being poison'd also, he fell a roaring, and said, 'Oh mad 'man that I have been, that have murdered my 'best subjects, and banished my son the Duke of 'Monmouth, and committed myself to the hand of 'murderers!'

6thly, After that excommunication in the Torwood, the full account whereof is to be found in the *Hynd let Loose*, written by famous Mr. Shiels, there was a price of six thousand merks set upon his head, for any to catch him quick or dead.[22] The violent avowed enemies were still in search for him before this, but much more after, who, to gain the prize, had curst Doeg-like intelligenters every where lying in wait to betray him into their hands; notwithstanding he was remarkably preserved, and many times narrowly escaped their hands, until his work was done and his hour come; and then suddenly and surprizingly was catcht, as afterwards I shall make plain.

Beside the narrow escapes mentioned in the relation given of him in the *Cloud of Witnesses*,[23] there were other four, as follows, 1. His horse was shot beneath him at Linlithgow-bridge, and he very narrowly escaped their bloody hands. 2. At Lowdon-hill, which is before me to give an account

of. 3. At the Queensferry, June 3d, 1680; when he, with Henry Hall of Haughhead, that worthy Christian gentleman, were upon their way from Borrowstounness to the Queensferry, these two sons of Belial, the curates of Borrowstounness and Carridden,[24] walking upon the sea-side knew Mr. Cargill, and went in haste to Middleton, governor of Blackness, and informed him. He ordered his soldiers to come after him; he followed hard to the Ferry, and got notice where they lighted, came in, and pretended great kindness, pressing them to take a glass of wine, until his men came up: then drew his sword, saying, they were his prisoners; Haughhead drew sword to defend themselves. The women in the town gathered; one of them gript Haughhead to save him. One Thomas George, a waiter there, behind his back struck him upon the head with the doghead of his carabin, and broke his scull. The women carried him off, and some of them supported him to Echlen, near half a mile, to the house of Robert Punton my brother-in-law, who was banished with Mr. Peden, as I mentioned before in his *Life*. The house of Binns being near, Thomas Dalziel's dwelling-place (that bloody tyrant, who was general to the forces twenty years), and he having got notice, came in great haste and fury, threatning great ruin to that family for taking in the rebel; and carried him back to the Ferry, and kept him all night. There is an old Christian woman (yet alive) who waited upon him all night, which was a weary night, he not being able to

speak to her, passing all his brains at his nostrils, died to-morrow by the way going to Edinburgh. None can give an account how they disposed on his corpse.[25]

Mr. Cargill in that confusion escaped sorely wounded, and crept into some secret place in the south-side of the town.[26] A very ordinary woman found him lying bleeding, took her head-clothes and tied up his wounds in his head, and conducted him to James Punton's in Carlowrie; he being a stranger, and knew not who was friends or foes; for which he said he was many times obliged to pray for that woman. Some say, after that there was a change upon her to the better. He lay in that barn till night, and then was conducted to some friend's house. Mrs. Punton gave him some warm milk; and a chirurgeon came providentially to the house, who drest his wounds.

General Dalziel came and called for James Punton, and took him away to Kirklistoun. When set down, the curate there (another of the serpent's brood,[27] who inform'd him) came and accused him before the general for shewing kindness to such a notorious rebel, for which he was carried to Edinburgh, and cast in prison, where he lay three months, and paid a thousand merks of fine.[28]

Mr. Cargill the next Sabbath preached at Cairnhill, betwixt Lowdon and Tweddale, in his wounds and blood; for no danger nor distress could stop him in going about doing good, and distributing food to so many starving souls up and down the land, his

time being short, that so he might finish his course with joy. He preached that day upon that text, 'And 'what shall I more say? for the time would fail me 'to speak of Gideon and Jephthah.' At night some said to him, 'We think, sir, praying and preaching 'go best with you when your danger and distress is 'greatest.' He said it had been so, and he hoped that it would be so; that the more that enemies and all others did thrust that he might fall, the more sensibly and decernibly the Lord had helped. And then (as his ordinar was) as it had been to himself repeated the following words, 'The Lord is my 'strength and song, and has become my salvation.' That 118 Psalm was the last psalm he sang on earth, which he sang on the scaffold.

7thly, In the beginning of November 1680, Governor Middleton being frustrate of his design at the Queensferry, and affronted by a few women, delivering the prey out of his and his soldiers' hands, consulted with James Henderson in Ferry, and laid down a hell-deep plot and trap to catch him, by forging and signing by different hands in the name of Baillie Adam in Culross, and Robert Stark in Milns of Forth (that serious zealous solid Christian, who had his great share of the tyranny of that time), and other honest leading men in the shire of Fife, for Henderson to come to Edinburgh, and make all search for Mr. Cargill, to call him over to Fife to preach at the Hill of Baith. Accordingly he found him in the West-Bow, in a chamber that the foresaid Robert Stark had taken for his children at schools;

two of them are yet alive in Edinburgh, worthy of credit, who will assert the truth of this. Mr. Cargill was very willing to answer the call: some present observed that Henderson was either in drink or confused, which made them jealous of treachery. Henderson proposed that he would go before, and have a boat ready at the Ferry against they came; and, that he might know them, desired to see Mr. Cargill's clothes; and Mr. Skeen and Mr. Boig being in the room with him. In the mean time he had Middleton's soldiers lying in disguise at the Mutton-hole, three miles from Edinburgh, the high-way to the Ferry: there was an ale-house upon the south side, and a park-dyke upon the north side, and no eviting them. Mr. Skeen, Archibald Stuart, and Mrs. Moor and Marion Harvie took the way upon foot, Mr. Cargill and Mr. Boig being to follow upon horses. When they came to the place, the soldiers gripped them: in the confusion, Mrs. Moor escaped, and went quickly back and stopt Mr. Cargill and Mr. Boig, who fled back to Edinburgh again. The prisoners were brought to Edinburgh; Mr. Skeen and Archibald Stuart were execute at the Cross of Edinburgh, December 1, 1680; and Marion Harvie with Isabel Alison were execute in the Grass-market, January 26, 1681.[29] However, Henderson got the price of blood, and bought or built a passage-boat which he called *Katharine*; but many fear'd to cross the water in her. Henderson after this turned miserable and contemptible in the eyes of all well-thinking men, and, some affirm, died

cursing, after he got that reward for treachery and the price of blood.

8thly, After this remarkable escape, seeing nothing but the violent flames of treachery and tyranny against him above all others, he alone keeping up the publick standard of the gospel at that time, [he] went to England for about three months, where the Lord blest his labours in the ministry, to the conviction and edification of many souls. In this none-such, melancholy, Egyptian darkness, Mr. King, Mr. Kid, and Mr. Cameron being publickly murdered; Mr. Blackadder and Mr. Dickson in the enemies' hands; Mr. Cargill, Douglas and Hepburn gone off the kingdom; the rest of the 30 ministers, who preached in the fields before Bothwel-bridge, being fallen in deep silence and compliance with the enemies: in this time, while men slept, the enemy sowed his tares. In the beginning of the year 1681, the devil began a new project at Borrowstounness upon a few of these whom he could not drive to left-hand defections, by injecting into them demented enthusiastical delusions, driving them upon wild unheard-of right-hand extremes, with a spirit of division and unwarrantable separation from all that would not or durst not go up with them in every jot; which began in Holland a year before, which I have already given a true account of;[30] and which remains rampant in Scotland to this day, and I sadly fear will outlive me.

John Gibb a sailor in Borrowstounness, a great professor, (but still some serious souls jealous of

him) drew about twenty-six women and three men with him, the greater part of them serious, exercised, tender, zealous, gracious souls, who stumbled upon that stumbling-block laid in their way, of ministers' compliance, silence and unfaithfulness, who before the break of Bothwel Bridge, for about eleven years, had publickly preached the indispensible duty of all the Lord's people to follow the gospel, and defend the same: but a little thereafter, the enemies gave an indemnity, or third indulgence, to all ministers who formerly preached in the fields, to preach in houses with the cautionry-band witnessed against in *The Banders Disbanded*, which I have elsewhere mentioned.[31] They so far complied with the enemies' design and desire to have [stopped] their 'Rendezvouze of 'Rebellion,' the field-conventicles (as then call'd) the devil's grand eye-sore, and great vexation of all his friends, the foes of Reformation, that they would preach none without [*i.e.* outside] houses, even these who formerly were most zealous and forward that way, whose names might be mentioned, and who would not set their faces to doors when there were any people without. These lamentable things, together with the cruel tyranny, shedding so much innocent precious dear blood, made them split with zeal, not only to cast off all that do not agree with them in every thing, but also to utter strange ante-gospel imprecations, disdaining and reproaching all others as backsliders, stating their testimony against all crown-dues, excise and customs; and for that end would make no use of ale nor tobacco, and other

fool things. These people at first were commonly called 'Sweet-singers,' from their frequently meeting together, and singing these tearful psalms over the mournful case of the Church, Psal. 74, 79, 80, 83, 137. Thus they continued from the beginning of the year until April; then all with one consent, that they might be free of all these foresaid things, left their houses, warm soft beds, cover'd tables; some of them their husbands and children, weeping upon them to stay with them; some women taking the sucking children in their arms to desert places, to be free of all snares and sins, and communion with all others, and [to] mourn for their own sins, the land's tyranny and defections, and there be safe from the land's utter ruin and desolations by judgments; some of them going to Pentland-hills, with a resolution to sit there to see the smoke and utter ruin of the sinful bloody city Edinburgh: but, if they had fulfilled their resolution, they would have been sadly weather-beaten these 48 years, being lately gone to their graves; laying more weight and stress upon these duties of prayer, fasting and mourning than upon Christ's satisfaction, obedience and intercession, which alas, that legal formal spirit is the ruin and plague of the greater part of preachers and prayers abounding this day, and ruining all the churches. These were a part of the confession of some of these gracious women (who came under the power of such delusions) voluntarily before a great multitude of people, upon the 3d day of March 1689, at the black hill of Lesmahagow; and matter of mourning to this

day, some of them being yet alive. Immediately after they came to these desert places, they kept a day of fasting, and confessing of their sins one to another; yea, some of them confest sins that the world had not heard of, and so not call'd to confess them to men.

In the mean time of their lying in this sad pickle in desert places, the man of God, blest Cargill, came down from England; a happy tryst to many godly zealous souls, who had a gale of zeal upon their spirits, and feared no danger upon the right hand, if they held off the left. Immediately he was called to preach in Darmade-muirs, by some who retained their former zeal and faithfulness. That Sabbath morning, John Gibb, David Jamie, Walter Ker, John Young, and twenty-six women, were lying in the Dear-slunk, in midst of a great flow moss betwixt Clydsdale and Lothian, about a mile distant. Mr. Cargill sent two men, whose names I could mention, to desire them to come and hear sermon, and that he might converse with them, severals of them being his acquaintance. John Gibb answered, He had left the land and deserted the testimony; they did not want him, nor no other minister; it was never better with them than since they parted with all of them. He [*i.e.* Cargill] came and stood upon a chair, and had nothing to rest upon, with his Bible betwixt his hands, as his ordinary was at all times when I heard him. I well remember, he sang the first verse of the 37 Psalm, 'For evil doers fret thou not,' etc., and lectured upon the 21 chapter of 1 Kings from the 17 verse, of

what passed betwixt Ahab and Elijah, and Ahab's outward humiliation, where he had many sententious notes; and preached upon that text, Amos iv. 12, 'Therefore this will I do unto thee, O Israel; and 'because I will do this unto thee, prepare to meet 'thy God, O Israel.' He insisted upon the foregoing judgments that had proven ineffectual, and few had returned unto him; but this was a nameless judgment, or a none-such judgment; and made application to Scotland. When our stroke came, he would not determine; but, when it came, it would be a none-such stroke. He went to Darngavell in Cambusnethen parish, upon the side of the muir: he sent for them to-morrow; when they came, they had a long reasoning in the barn; the sum and substance of it is to be found in that letter he sent to the women in the Correction-house, which is published in the *Cloud of Witnesses*.[32] Two things they required of him, before they could join, and own him as their minister: (1) That he would confess publickly his sin in leaving of the land. (2) That he would engage to preach to none but them, and these that joined with them. He answered that he did not see that to be his sin in leaving the land in such a time, and so short a time, in his circumstances; and he hoped that he had been useful to not a few where he had been; and to preach to none but them was a dreadful restriction upon his ministry; for his commission was far more extensive, to go and preach, and baptize all nations, and to preach the gospel to every creature; and if his

trumpet would sound to the ends of the earth, he would preach Christ to all. Gibb and Jamie carried pistols upon them, and threatned all who came to seek their wives or others from them; which frighted some. There was a bed made for him [*i.e.* Cargill] and John Gibb: he lay down a little, but rose in haste, and went to the muir all night; I well remember it was a cold easterly wet fogg. Many waiting on to have his thoughts about them, he refused upon the Sabbath-evening to give his thoughts until he spake with them. They found him in the muir in the morning wet and cold, and very melancholy, wanting rest all night, and great grief upon his spirit. They said, 'Now, sir, you have spoke with them, and have 'had your thoughts about them; be free with us.' He said, 'My thoughts are both bad and sad. This 'man, John Gibb, is an incarnate devil, and there 'are many devils in him; wo to him, his name will 'stink while the world stands. I bless God who 'preserved me; he might have cut my throat this 'night, but I got warning of my danger. As for 'David Jamie, there is a good scholar lost, and a 'minister spilt; I have no hope of him. I am afraid 'that Walter Ker and John Young and others will 'go a greater length, but I hope the Lord will re-'claim many of them. And now, go all home, and 'pray that this snare may be broke; for this is one 'of the most dreadful and dangerous snares that 'hath been in my time; but they run so fast they 'will soon discover themselves: but, I greatly fear, 'these wild tares of delusions and divisions will

'spring and grow, and never be rooted out in this 'land'; which has sadly come to pass.

After this, in preaching and conference, he was most sententious and plain in discovering and giving warning of the snare, sin and danger of these wild extremes. Nevertheless, the indulged, silent and unfaithful, lukewarm, complying ministers and professors made no distinction betwixt him and Gibb, but made it their work by tongue and pen to bury him and his faithfulness in the ashes of these vile extremes; and as for any of us that travel'd 40 or 50 miles far or near to hear him preach, (and no danger or enemies could stop or discourage us) they spread that we were away with the Gibbites, altho' I never saw John Gibb, nor was acquaint with any of his followers at that time: for which I bless the Lord, that so mercifully and remarkably prevented it, by hearing and following of blest Cargill.

After this, in the beginning of May, the Gibbites were all taken by a troop of dragoons at the Woollhill Craigs betwixt Lothian and Tweddale, a very desert place. The enemies carried them to Edinburgh; the four men were put in the Canongate Tolbooth, and the twenty-six women in the Correction-house, and some of them scourged; and, as their friends and husbands loved and had moyen, they were set free. The greater part of them came to their right mind, after they had tasted of the bitter fruits of these demented delusions, with whom I have had edifying conversation since.

The Duke of York being in Edinburgh, he and

all other enemies rejoiced at all these strange things, and gave large money to these four men, for which they wrote a most blasphemous paper to York, copies of which are yet in the hands of some.[33] In a little time they were all liberate. These four men, with Isabel Bonn, and another woman whose name I have forgot, went west to the Frost Moss, betwixt Airth and Stirling, where they burnt the Holy Bible, as they had exclaimed against the Psalms in metre, and [table of] contents of the Bible as human inventions; every one of them had somewhat to say. When they threw their Bibles in the fire, John Gibb said he did that out of despite against God. The night before that horrid action of burning the Bible, Walter Ker and John Young prayed all night in that moss, and a light shining about them.[34] Shortly after this Walter Ker turned mad, and was for some time bound in Torphichen, where he was born. He came to his right mind again, and went to Clyde, a mile beneath Lanark, to the house of Robert and Elisabeth Bruces, two old solid serious Christians, both my acquaintances, who got a hearty smack of the sweetness of the gospel in that good day at the Kirk of Shots,[35] where he served two years, and deeply mourned both night and day for what he had done; and wrote 38 steps thereof. He sometimes said, if there were a Christian magistrate in the land, he would go to them and confess all, and seek of them to execute justice upon him for burning of the Bible. He told his master and mistress that he would be taken and banished, which accordingly

came to pass in the year 1685. And some of our banished worthies (who were with him in America, and came home) said to me that he exceeded all our banished, that they knew, in prevailing with some to set up the worship of God in their families, and young ones to pray, and join in societies for prayer and conference. What became of him since, I know not.

John Young went into Lothian after that, and kept a school, lived retired, and spoke little. Gibb, and David Jamie, Isobel Bonn, and that other woman, were again taken and put in the Canongate Tolbooth, where they took such fits of seven days' fasting, that their voices were changed in their gronings and gollerings with pain of hunger, and then such excessive eating that these with them admired how their bellies could contain so much. Gibb was so possest with a raging roving devil, that they could not get publick worship performed three times a day, as their ordinar was in each room.[36] Two of these prisoners took their tour about, lying upon him with a napkin in his mouth. George Jackson, who thereafter suffered at the Gallow-lee in December 9th, 1684,[37] at first when he came there prisoner, said, 'Is that your ordinar?' They said it was. He said, 'I shall stay his roring,' and threatned Gibb. He fell a trembling, and put his own napkin in his mouth, but could not refrain his roring. George desired them to halt in time of worship, and with feet and hands dash'd his head against the wall, and beat him so, that the rest were

afraid that he had kill'd him outright. Gibb was a big strong man, for which he was called Meikle John Gibb. After this, whenever they began, he ran in behind the door with his napkin in his mouth, and there sat howling like a dog. I had these accounts from these prisoners who were with him when I was carried into that iron-house. Immediately after, John Gibb,[38] David Jamie and the foresaid two [women] were sent to America, where Gibb was much admired by the heathen for his familiar converse with the devil bodily, and offering sacrifices to him; he died there about the year 1720. David Jamie wrote a letter to his father in Linlithgow, where he was born, desiring him not to trouble himself about heaven or hell, for all these things were fancies. John Smith, that serious solid Christian, who was fourteen years banish'd there, (who died of late in the parish of Carstairs) carried that letter, and delivered it to his father. When the good old man read it, he fainted; but David Jamie, being a piece of a schollar, got himself into publick clerking, and a few years ago was clerk in the town of New-York in New-England: I saw his name at Doctor Nicol's commission here, for a publick collection for building of a church there.[39]

Thus I have given a full and true account of the rise, steps, and monstrous lengths, and frightful end of these Gibbites;[40] which may be a warning to the present and following ages, to tremble and be afraid of coming under the power of such demented dilirious delusions; and whereby all may see that the man of

God (blest Cargill) was not mistaken in all that he did foresee and foretel about them.

9thly, After that conference with the Gibbites at Darngavel, the next Sabbath-day he preached two miles beneath Lanark, in the Under-bankwood upon Clyde-side, upon that text, 'I have set watchmen 'upon thy walls'; where he lamented that it had been the great sin of the Church of Scotland, in setting up of watchmen that had little or no experience of regeneration, and had been overly of their trials, contenting themselves with a clatter of gifts and learning: and lamented also that so many watchmen were fled off the walls, and deserted their posts, frighted as if they were blasted or thunder-slain. He stayed for some time in that wood.

In the beginning of May 1681, Gavin Wotherspoon and John Stewart, both my acquaintances, two serious, zealous Christians, and great sufferers, came unto him. The braes being steep and the woods close, he inquired if there was any appearance of rain; they said they saw none. He said, 'These 'braes look very burnt like,' being a cold east drought. Gavin said, 'We fear, if the Lord send 'not rain, there will be scarcity of bread.' He said, 'I have been thinking upon that since I came 'into this wood; but if I be not under a delusion' (for this was his ordinar way of speaking when he gave his thoughts of what was to come) 'you need 'not fear that, as long as this persecution lasts. For 'the Lord hath a greater respect to his own suffering 'people than to suffer such a rough wind to blow

'in such an east wind; for, if that were, the heavy 'end of that stroke would come upon his own people. 'For me, I am to die shortly by the hand of this 'bloody enemy; but you that outlive this persecu-'tion, as I am of the mind you will both do' (which they both did, and saw the sad accomplishment) 'you will see cleanness of teeth, and mony a black 'pale face, which shall put mony thousands to their 'graves in Scotland, with unheard-of natures of 'fluxes and fevers, and otherwise; and there shall 'be great distress in the land, and wrath upon this 'people.' Mr. Peden did foresee and foretell the same things, but in his own peculiar way of expressing himself, saying, 'As long as the lads are upon 'the hills, and in glens and caves, you will have 'bonnocks o'er night; but, if once they were beneath 'the beild of the brae, you will have clean teeth, 'and mony a black and pale face in Scotland.' The sad accomplishment of these sayings will lamentably appear in these following instances.

(1) In the year 1694, in the month of August, that crop got such a stroke in one night by east mist or fog standing like mountains (and where it remained longest and thickest, the badder were the effects, which all our old men, that had seen frost, blasting and mildewing, had never seen the like) that it got little more good of the ground.

(2) In November that winter, many were smitten with wasting sore fluxes, and strange fevers (which carried many off the stage) of such a nature and manner that all our old physicians had never seen

the like, and could make no help; for all things that used to be proper remedies proved destructive. And this was not to be imputed to bad unwholsom victual; for severals, who had plenty of old victual, did send to Glasgow for Irish meal, and yet were smitten with fluxes and fevers in a more violent and infectious nature and manner than the poorest in the land, whose names and places where they dwelt I could instance.

(3) These unheard-of manifold judgments continued seven years, not always alike, but the seasons, summer and winter, so cold and barren, and the wonted heat of the sun so much withholden, that it was discernible upon the cattle, flying fowls, and insects decaying, that seldom a fly or gleg was to be seen. Our harvests not in the ordinary months; many shearing in November and December, yea, some in January and February; the names of the places I can instruct. Many contracting their deaths, and losing the use of their feet and hands shearing and working amongst it in frost and snow; and after all some of it standing still, and rotting upon the ground, and much of it for little use either to man or beast, and which had no taste or colour of meal.

(4) Meal became so scarce that it was at two shillings a peck, and many could not get it. It was not then with many, 'Where will we get silver?' but, 'Where will we get meal for silver?' I have seen, when meal was all sold in markets, women clapping their hands, and tearing the clothes off

their heads, crying, 'How shall we go home and see 'our children die in hunger? They have got no 'meat these two days, and we have nothing to give 'them.'

(5) Through the long continuance of these manifold judgments, deaths and burials were so many and common that the living were wearied in the burying of the dead. I have seen corpses drawn in sleds, many got neither coffin nor winding-sheet. I was one of four who carried the corpse of a young woman a mile of way; and, when we came to the grave, an honest poor man came and said, 'You 'must go and help me to bury my son, he is lien 'dead this two days; otherwise I will be obliged to 'bury him in my own yard.' We went, and there were eight of us had two miles to carry the corpse of that young man, many neighbours looking on us, but none to help us. I was credibly informed that, in the north, two sisters on a Monday's morning were found carrying the corpse of their brother on a barrow with bearing-rops, resting themselves many times, and none offering to help them.

(6) I have seen some walking about the sun-setting, and to-morrow about six a-clock in the summer morning found dead in their houses, without making any stir at their death, their head lying upon their hand, with as great smell as if they had been four days dead, the mice or rats having eaten a great part of their hands and arms.

(7) Many had cleanness of teeth in our cities, and want of bread in our borders; and to some the staff

of bread was so utterly broken (which makes complete famine) that they did eat, and were neither satisfied nor nourished. And some of them said to me that they could mind nothing but meat, and were nothing bettered by it; and that they were utterly unconcerned about their souls, whether they went to heaven or hell.

(8) The nearer and sorer these plagues seized, the sadder were their effects, that took away all natural and relative affections, so that husbands had no sympathy with their wives, nor wives with their husbands, parents with their children, nor children with their parents. These and other things have made me to doubt if ever any of Adam's race were in a more deplorable condition, their bodies and spirits more low, than many were in these years.

(9) The crowning plague of all these great and manifold plagues was—many were cast down but few humbled; great murmuring, but little mourning; many groning under the effects of wrath, but few had sight or sense of the causes of wrath in turning to the Lord. And, assoon as these judgments were removed, many were lift up, but few thankful; even these who were as low as any, that outlived these scarce times, did as lightly esteem bread as if they had never known the worth of it by the want of it. The great part turned more and more gospel-proof, and judgment-proof; and the success of the gospel took a stand at that time in many places of the land, but more especially since the Rebellion 1715.

King William his kindness is not to be forgotten,

who not only relieved us from tyranny, but had such a sympathy with Scotland, when in distress of famine, that he offered all who would transport victual to Scotland, that they might do it custom-free, and have 20 pence of each boll.

I cannot pass this occasion of giving remarks upon some observable providences that followed these strange judgments upon persons who dwelt in low-lying fertile places, who laid themselves out to raise markets when at such a height, and had little sympathy with the poor, or these who lived in cold muirish places, who thought these who lived in these fertile places had a little heaven. But soon thereafter their little heavens were turned into little hells, by unexpected providences. Some wrote sixteen remarks upon that terrible fire which fell out on the 2 or 3 of February 1700, in the Parliament Closs in Edinburgh;[41] one was, that most of these people who dwelt there were rich, and lived sumptuously, and had little sympathy with the distrest case of the land; that their fine houses, which were eleven years in building, were in a few hours turned to a burnt ruinous heap. But more especially, there was a farmer in the parish of West-Calder, in which parish 300 of 900 examinable persons wasted away, who at that time was reckoned worth 6000 merks of money and goods, that had very little to spare to the poor; the victual lay spoiling in his house and yard waiting for a greater price; and two honest servant-lasses, whose names were Nisbets, being cast out of service (for every

one could not have it; many said they got too much wages that got meat for their work) these two lasses would not steal, and they were ashamed to beg; they crept into an empty house, and sat there wanting meat until their sight was almost gone; and then they went about a mile of way to that farmer's yard, and cut four stocks of kail to save their lives. He found them, and drave them before him to the Laird of Bawds, who was a Justice of Peace, that he might get them punished. The laird enquired what moved them to go by so many yards, and go to his. They said these in their way were in straits themselves, and he might best spare them. The laird said, 'Poor conscionable things, go your 'way, I have nothing to say to you.' One of them got service, and the other died in want; it was her burial I mentioned before, who was carried by us four. But, lo, in a very few years he and his were begging from door to door, whom I have served at my door, and to whom I said, 'Who should have 'pity and sympathy with you, who kept your victual 'spoiling, waiting for a greater price, and would 'spare nothing of your fulness to the poor, and was 'so cruel to the two starving lasses that you took 'prisoners, for four stocks of kail to save their lives? 'Ye may read your sin upon your judgment, if ye 'be not blind in the eyes of your soul, as ye are of 'one in your body, and may be a warning to all 'that come after you.' Many yet alive in that country-side can witness the truth of all these strange things.

By these foregoing relations all may see that these two servants of Christ, Mr. Cargill and Mr. Peden, were clear-sighted in what they did foresee and tell, which sadly and exactly came to pass about 13 years after blest Cargill's bloody death: and in seeing and foretelling such strange things, they were not their alone in these days. The godly, and zealous, and faithful unto the death Mr. John Blackadder, whom I mentioned in the preface of *Mr. Peden's Life*, was at the Cow-hill in the parish of Livingstoun, in the year 1675, in the month of August. He went out to the fields in the evening, being a retired place; when he came in he was very melancholy: some friends enquired what moved him to be so sad. He said, he was afraid of a very dangerous infectious mist to go through the land that night, that might have sad effects, of many deaths and great dearth to follow; and desired the family to close door and window, and keep them as long closs as they might, and take notice where the mist stood thickest and longest, for there they would see the effects saddest; which they did: and it remained longest upon that town called the Craigs, being within their sight, and only a few families; and within four months thereafter 30 corpses went out of that place; and bad crops followed for three years, the meal was at half a crown the peck. But, lo, in the 1678 there was such a crop that the Lothian barley was sold at four pound the boll, and the pease at forty pence;[42] and for that we got ten thousand Highlanders, five hundred English dragoons, the whole militia of the

kingdom, and all the standing forces cast in upon the West of Scotland at Bothwel-bridge: and, as they said, they came to destroy, and destroy they would; and yet there was abundance for them all, and the inhabitants also.

10thly, After Mr. Cargill left the Under-bankwood, he preached at Loudoun-hill upon a week-day, the 5th of May. Historian Wodrow says that it was a fast-day; but it was not an appointed fast, however some of them might be obliged to fast.[43] He designed only to preach once, and baptize some children. His text was, 'No man that hath followed me in the 'regeneration, shall be a loser, but great gainers.' In his conference lately with the Gibbites, finding so much of Peter's religion among them (that they had 'left all and followed him') made him to insist in shewing that it was not every pretended way of following Christ that he would either regard or reward; holding forth the danger and ruin to place so much, if not all, of religion in these external parts of Christianity, as prayers, fastings and mournings, and contendings for the testimony: for sufferings for the same, tho' they were duties in themselves, yet whoever rested upon them would have a cald coal to blow at in the end. Nothing is ours but sin, nor due to us but the wages of it, death. In the application of that sermon, he gave warning of the snares and sins of the Gibbites and their actings, and how dangerous it was to cast off all ministers: and exhorted us to pray for faithful ministers to ourselves, and never content ourselves without them;

for we would not continue long sound in the faith, and straight in the way, if we wanted faithful guides. And, for all the respect that these divided parties of Dissenters, or rather schismaticks and separatists, pretend to Mr. Cargill, Cameron, Shiels and Renwick, and every one of them to be their successors, and maintaining the testimony which they sealed with their blood; how little do they notice the sententious writings and sayings of these worthies! And I am perswaded, if they were upon the stage this day, that none would speak, preach and write more against all the divided parties of them, and their anti-scriptural, wild, unprecedented principles and practices: and these that cast off all ministers this day in Scotland, if they had been living through all the periods of this church, would never have embraced any as their ministers, nor none in other churches this day through the world. It was one of the sententious sayings of the Reverend Mr. James Kirktoun, in his pulpit in Edinburgh, insisting upon Scotland's singular privileges above all other churches for a long time, That there had been ministers in Scotland that had the gift of working miracles, and prophesying, which he could instruct; and that he had heard French, Dutch, English, Irish, and other ministers preach; and yet there have been and are ministers in Scotland that preach more from the heart, and to the heart, than any that ever he had heard. And I have sometimes heard the worthy Mr. Shiels say, when he spoke of his travels through the world, That the ill of Scotland he found every

where, but the good of Scotland he found no where.

When the sermon was ended, and children baptized, there came up mo children. Friends prest him to preach in the afternoon, contrary his inclination; which he did, upon that text, 'Weep not for 'me,' etc. When praying, there came a herd-lad crying, 'The enemies are coming upon you.' They had out no sentinels that day, which was not their ordinary; they were so surprized that some that had been at Pentland, Bothwel, and Airdsmoss, and in other great dangers, were never so seized with fear. Some of the women threw their children from them, and Mr. Cargill in the confusion was running straight upon the enemy. Gavin Wotherspoon and other friends gripped him, and hal'd him into the moss to which the people fled; also the dragoons fired hard upon them, but there were none either kill'd or taken that day. The ball went through Patrick Foreman's hair, but his head was safe, his hour not being yet come, and that neither the time nor place that he was to die (whose was one of the five sculls which were reburied after 45 years, which before I have given a full account of).

11thly, About this time some spoke to him, that he preached and pray'd short; who said, 'O sir, 'tis 'long betwixt meals, and we are in a starving con-'dition. All is good, sweet and wholsom, which ye 'deliver; but why do you straiten us so much for 'shortness?' He said, 'Ever since I bowed a knee 'in good earnest to pray, I never durst pray and

'preach with my gifts: and where my heart is not 'affected, and comes not up with my mouth, I 'always thought it time for me to quit it. What 'comes not from my heart, I have little hope that 'it will go to the heart of others'; then repeated these sentences of the 51 Psalm, 'Then will I teach 'transgressors thy way, and sinners shall be con-'verted unto thee.' When was this *then*? just when he had the experience of the foregoing things. If all this were studied and practised, there would be fewer preachers and shorter preachings, and fewer and shorter prayers amongst professors; they would not sleep and wake people, gasping and gollering, and few understanding what they are saying, as if they were to be heard for much speaking, or as if God could not or would not hear without they cry loud, and loving to hear themselves speak, and others to admire and adore them: but these who are long and loud in publick for ordinary will be seldom and short in secret; and when they are, they will extend their voice that others may hear them; which is expresly forbidden. When we enter into our closets, we may hear ourselves, but no other. If that loud way of praying in secret had been practised by our sufferers in throng prisons, especially in Dunnotar Castle, there would have been a frightful confused noise amongst them, to confuse one another, and to expose them to the mockage of the world as mad men. I am sure it was the only straitning thing to sufferers, especially when under sentence of death, and upon their

dying days, when they could not get out their breath.

12thly, When he went from Loudoun-hill, he passed through the shire of Air, Carrick, and into Galloway, preaching, baptizing and marrying, but stayed a short time there. When he left Galloway, he said, 'Farewel, Galloway, for I will never come 'back to thee again. Thou art now Galloway, but 'thou wilt become a wallaway, and I fear other 'shires in the south and west of Scotland be little 'better.' Mr. Peden had the same expressions.

13thly, He came to Clydsdale, where he took most delight, and had greatest liberty in preaching and praying, and several other ministers at that time in the same. He designed to have preached at Tinto Hill, but the lady of St. John's Kirk got notice, and wrote to some publick men that he was to preach at Home's Common, in the back of Coulter Heights. He was that night in John Liddel's in Heidmire, near Tinto Hill; he went early in the Sabbath morning to it, thinking to spend the morning alone; but, when he saw the people passing on, he called to some of them, and enquired where they were going; they told him. He said, 'That's the lady's policy to get us at some distance 'from her house; but she will be discovered.'

When Mr. Cargill saw none of the people staying with him, he rose and followed them five miles. The morning being very warm, in the beginning of June, and the heights very steep, a full mile, he was very much stress'd ere he wan to the place. I

saw a man give him a drink of water in his bonnet, and another betwixt sermons, which was the best entertainment he got that day, and had tasted nothing that morning.

He lectured that day upon the 6th of Isaiah, upon which he had many sententious sayings, I remember, from that word, 'Whom shall I send? and who will 'go for us?' He said, 'To speak with holy reverence, 'we see that the Trinity of Heaven may be at a 'stand, where to get a fit messenger to carry the 'message; the prophet said, "Here am I, send me." 'Tis like, if he had known what he was to do, he 'would not have been so forward; for, if an honest-'hearted minister might refuse any errand that God 'sent him, it would be to denounce judgments upon 'a people, especially spiritual: but the hand of God 'was here; and, when he got his commission to 'preach to that people, and they grew more and 'more deaf and blind, he cried out, "How long?" 'and the answer was returned, "Until the city be '"without inhabitants, and the land utterly deso-'"late."' After he insisted a little in explaining these words, he said, groning deeply, 'If he knew 'any thing of the mind of God, this is the commis-'sion that we are getting, and the commission that 'ministers will get, to preach the greater part of the 'generation more and more deaf and blind. And 'preach who will, and pray who will, this deafness 'and this blindness shall remain until many habit-'able places of Scotland be as waste and desolate as 'these mountains' (looking to them with a very

weary countenance). 'But remember I am setting 'no time to this, we know not what manner of 'spirits we are of; a thousand years appear in his 'sight as one day, and a delayed thing was neither 'forgot nor forgiven; and the longer delay'd, the 'sorer when it comes. It will be a midnight cry, 'the foolish sound asleep, and the wise slumbering, 'and will come upon you as a thunder-clap.' He went on to the following verse, 'Yet in it shall be a 'tenth, who shall be as the oak, which hath the 'substance in the root.' And from that he asserted that, as the Lord had preserved a remnant through all the periods of the church, so he would preserve a remnant that would ride out all these winter-storms.

He preached upon that word in the forenoon, 'Be 'not high-minded, but fear.' His first note was, that these who knew themselves best would fear themselves most; and that, as it was hard to determine what a length a hypocrite may gang in the profession of religion, it was as hard to determine what a length a child of God may go in defection, having grace, but wanting the exercise thereof; and that a Christian might go through nineteen trials, and carry honestly in them, and fall in the twentieth. 'While in the body, be not high-minded, but fear. 'I am not speaking this of these wretched creatures. 'Wo to them; some of them are nothing but devils, 'and many of them are misled: for the Lord's sake, 'look not to these, I mean John Gibb and his 'company.' In the afternoon he was upon that

word, 'The devil is come down, having great wrath'; of which I have given some notes before, but must not insist, otherwise it would swell above my reach to publish.

14thly, The next Sabbath-day he preached at the Bendry Bridge, betwixt Clydsdale and Lothian. He lectured in Zechariah, on Joshua standing before the angel; and preached in the forenoon upon that word, 'Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, and ride 'prosperously.' His first note was, that no sooner Christ became all and all to a soul, but the next wish of that soul is, 'O that he were thus to all the world!' And let never none think that they are in a right exercise of true religion, that want zeal for God's publick glory. And in the afternoon [he preached] upon that word, 'What will you do in the day of 'visitation? where will you flee for help? and where 'will you leave your glory?'[44] From that he said, What would all that knew not God and obey not the gospel do? for he was coming with flaming fire to take vengeance upon all such. And what would all wicked laws' inventors, enactors and executers do, and all iniquous law-obeyers and keepers do? Where would they flee for help? and where will they leave their ill-gotten glory?

15thly, From the Bendry Bridge he went to Fife, and baptized many children, and preached only one Sabbath at the Lomond Hills, and hasted back to Clydsdale, and came to the Benty-rig in Cambusnethen parish, where two friends, sent from the societies in Galloway to call him back there to

preach and baptize, were. After he enquired for their welfare and friends in Galloway, he said, 'Have your friends in Galloway any thoughts or 'fears of the Frenches or other foreigners coming 'upon you?' They said, 'No.' He rose and went out, being a desert place, to a moss-hag, being the best chamber ofttimes that he, Cameron, Renwick, and Sheils had in these days, who displayed the publick banner of the gospel after Bothwel-bridge. It was but a short time that he stayed in company and converse. These two Galloway men said to other friends in that bounds, who were my very dear acquaintance who told me, 'Why does the 'minister speir such a question at us?' These friends said, 'Enquire at himself, for we find this is 'his ordinar with friends who have been any time 'out of his company.' When he came in, they said, 'We have been thinking upon what you said to 'us, and we cannot understand what you mean by 'it.' After musing a little, for that was his ordinar, especially when they enquired any thing concerning the times, he said, 'If I be not under a delusion,' (for that was his ordinar also, when he spake of things to come) 'the French and other foreigners, 'with wicked unhappy men in this land, will be 'your stroke; and it will come in such a nick of 'time, when one of these nations will not be in a 'capacity to help one another; for me, I am to die 'shortly by the hand of these murderers, and will 'not see it. I know not how the Lord's people will 'endure it, that have it to meet with; but the fore-

'sight and forethought of it make me to tremble.' And then, as his ordinar was, as it had been to himself, said, 'Short but very sharp.'

16thly, There were two very young lads, who were my very dear billies, whose converse and prayers together have been very edifying to me, and the remembrance of it to this day is savoury, who lived in the Starry-shaw very near that Benty-rig where he was, Thomas and John Marshals, to whom he said at that same time, 'Lads, ye had 'meikle need to pray in earnest, you have a sharp 'storm to meet with, and many strange faces to see, 'and your bones shall ly in a strange land.' This came to pass 3 years thereafter in December 1684, about the same time that I fell into the enemies' hands. Meldrum, that wicked persecuter, whom the world hath heard of,[45] apprehended them and carried them to Glasgow. Walter Gibson merchant there got a gift of them and other twenty eight, who starved and poisoned them with little and bad victuals, above all that ever I heard of that carried our banished to foreign lands. Few of them in that ship lived any time in Carolina; Thomas died in a little time after their landing there, John lived for some time after, and died there also. That which was the occasion of our banish'd being carried to so many different places in the world was, in these days, there were Scots regiments in France, Flanders, and Holland; and, when their men decayed, officers came home seeking recruits; hearing of prisoners that were under banishment, got gifts

of them from the wicked bloody counsellors, and carried them to these places. Then merchants, such as Gibson in Glasgow, and Malloch in Edinburgh, Pitlochie a laird in Fife, and many others[46] got gifts of them (and, as the old saying is, 'Cocks are free 'of other folks' corn') who transported them to Carolina, New-Jersay, Jamaica, and Barbadoes, to be their slaves; but none of them made their plack a babee with trading in such wares, which confirms what that singular Christian James Clarkson, merchant in Linlithgow, whom the foresaid Malloch got a gift of with other thirteen, said, when banish'd on ship-board on the Roads at Leith, to which I was a witness, 'We are the best baddest wares that ever 'Malloch had in his pack-sheet; and if Malloch, or 'any other that trade in such wares, be not great 'losers, I am far mistaken.'

17thly, In that short time that blest Cargill had to run, he ran fast on foot, having lost several horses in his remarkable escapes. Wherever he was called in several times and different places of the land, when he sat down for rest, being old and weary, he took a look of the many gentlemen's buildings, and said, 'Your lords, lairds and gentlemen are making brave 'houses and large parks; they may build at leisure, 'it will not be long many of them will possess their 'houses, which have been nests of wickedness and 'uncleanness. They have dipt their hands in the 'persecution and deep compliance, but few of them 'have had a fur of land to spare for the interest 'of Christ, and it will go a worse gate, and their

'inheritance will vomit out their names.' The accomplishment of this saying cannot pass the observation of any who see with half an eye, being so universal: and their own sad experience can testify that since that time, being now forty nine years since his death, mo estates of hundreds of years' standing have changed masters than did for a hundred years before, almost in all corners of the land. Besides these lamentable holding reasons that he gave, several reasons and occurrences have fallen out since to bring it to pass, such as, we always bear the name of the poor proud Scots through the world; and, as our poverty increaseth, so our pride, vanity, prodigality and ambition grow of airy fool stiles and titles. We were all once fairly ranked in our solemn national covenants, as 'noblemen, 'gentlemen, barons, burgesses, ministers and com-'mons of all ranks.'[47] But since these covenants were broken, burnt, and cast by as almanacks out of date, we are all gone out of rank and file; the honour due to the superior is given to the inferior; our goodman and goodwife is turned sir and mistress; and our sir and mistress, to your honour and madam. Since the Rebellion 1715, and since the stock-jobbing, a foolish haste to be rich hath made many poor; and many other ways and things, living above their stations and incomes, and spending their money on gaming, wine and women, have brought it to pass. There are some sentences in the end of our National Covenant, that may strike terror to the hearts of all ranks; such as, 'We call the

'living God, the searcher of our hearts, to witness, 'who knoweth this to be our sincere desire, and 'unfeigned resolution, as we shall answer to Jesus 'Christ at the great day, and, under the pains of 'God's everlasting wrath, and of infamy and loss of 'all honour and respect in this world.'[48]

18thly, The next Sabbath after he went from the foresaid Benty-rig, he preached at Auchingilloch, in the south-side of Clydsdale, and then returned to Clyde. The week before he was taken, he was in the Lee-wood, where he married Robert Marshal of Starry-shaw, brother to the foresaid Thomas and John Marshals. After they were gone from him, Marion Coupar spouse to John Weir, who dwelt in the Mains-of-Lee, two solid Christians and sufferers in that time, brought his dinner to him in the wood. In the time thereof he said, 'What hath induced 'Robert to marry this woman? This woman's ill 'will overcome his good, he will not keep the way 'long, his thriving days are done'; which sadly came to pass in every jot. A little time thereafter he was taken and put in prison, fell in foul compliance with the enemies, went home and heard the curates, and other steps of defection, and became lightly esteemed. This was the last marriage that he performed, in which both he, Peden, Cameron, and Renwick, took as little delight as in any piece of their ministerial work, although they would neither disswade nor refuse, having such a deep concern upon their spirits, and looking upon it as an evidence of unconcernedness with the many grievous things

in that day, and of such a tendency to increase their afflictions. Some of them shortly thereafter were taken, hanged, shot and banished; their wives and children put from their houses, having no certain dwelling-place; all which I can instruct, some of all these being my acquaintance.

When Marion was pressing him to eat, he said, 'Let alone, I cannot be press'd; for I took not that 'meal of meat these thirty years, but what I could 'have taken as much when I rose as when I sat 'down.'

19thly, I had the happiness to hear blest Mr. Cargill preach his last publick sermons, (as I had several times before, for which, while I live, I desire to bless the Lord) in Dunsyre-common, betwixt Clydsdale and Lothian, where he lectured upon the 1 chap. of Jer. and preached upon that soul-refreshing text, Isa. 26, two last verses, 'Come, my people, 'enter into your chambers,' etc.,[49] wherein he was short, marrowy and sententious, as his ordinary was in all his publick sermons and prayers, with the greatest evidences of concernedness, exceeding all that ever I heard open a mouth, or saw open a Bible to preach the gospel, with the greatest indignation at the unconcernedness of hearers. He preached from experience, and went to the experience of all that had any of the Lord's gracious dealing with their souls. It came from his heart, and went to the heart; as I have heard some of our common hearers say, that he spake as never man spake, for his words went through them.

He insisted what kind of chambers these were of protection and safety, and exhorted us all earnestly to dwell in the clifts of the rock, to hide ourselves in the wounds of Christ, and to wrap ourselves in the believing application of the promises flowing therefrom; and to make our refuge under the shadow of his wings, until these sad calamities pass over, and the dove come back with the olive-leaf in her mouth. These were the last words of his last sermon.[50]

20thly, Sometime that night having several miles to travel, not daring to leave that desert place until it was dark, for fear of enemies; it was contrary to his inclination to go that way, but the lady of St. John's Kirk was present, who had influence upon Mr. Smith and Mr. Boig, who prevailed with him. (Notwithstanding of her great profession, he was always jealous of her, and would not go to her house, and several times said, 'Whatever end she 'might make, there would be foul wide steps in her 'life.' That lady not only followed the persecuted gospel, but also frequented private society-meetings; particularly with these two old singular Christians, Thomas Johnston in Grangehall in Pettinain, and Francis Liverance in Coventoun, who were both my acquaintances. She several times said to them and others that, if ever she turned from the way of the Lord, she knew not what she would make of these three Scriptures, viz. Heb. 6, 'Being once 'enlightned,' etc., Heb. 10, 'Sinning wilfully,' etc., and that in 2 Pet. 2 chapter, 'It had been better for

'them,' etc. Yet after that, when hard came to hard in the two slaughter-years of 1684 and '85, she turned so far out of the way that she became a persecutor, and would suffer none to dwell in her land that would not hear the plagued curates, nor take the Oath of Abjuration. The two foresaid worthy Christians went together, to know what she made of the foresaid Scriptures; but she would give them no access, by causing shut the gates upon them, it being about the middle of January 1687.) Mr. Cargill went along with her the length of Covingtoun-mill, to the house of Andrew Fisher and his spouse Elisabeth Lindsay, my acquaintance, about a mile from her house, near Tinto Hill, but would go no further.

21stly, James Irvine of Bonshaw, who formerly made a trade of fine horses, of outfang and infang betwixt the kingdoms, that being discovered, he came to the Council and General Dalziel, and got a general commission, altho' he was no officer, (all then knew that the wickedest and vilest of men were then employed,) that wherever he was informed by the cursed intelligenters, that any of the Lord's suffering people were hiding, that the forces, foot and horse, were to ride and march at his command. Accordingly that Sabbath-night, at the sun-setting, he mounted with a party of dragoons from Kilbride, and the next morning at the sun-rising he came to St. John's Kirk 20 miles, and searched that house narrowly; then came to James Thomson's in the Muirhouse, and searched it. Many reflected upon

the foresaid lady, that she (leaving these worthies a few hours before that) in the time they were searching her own house and James Thomson's, which took some time, did not send and advertise them, being a mile distant. Next, he came to Covingtoun-mill, and surrounded that house and chamber, two beds being in it (where I have rested sometimes since) where they were lying, not fallen fast asleep: when he found them, he cried out, 'Oh blessed Bon-'shaw! and blessed day that ever he was born, that 'has found such a prize this morning'; this he did and said, out of his great wickedness, and prospect of the rich reward that was set on the head of Mr. Cargill, to any that would apprehend him either quick or dead, which was 6000 merks.[51]

22dly, They marched hard to Lanark, and put the prisoners in the Tolbooth, until the soldiers got meat and drink; they got horses, brought them out in haste, and set them on their bare backs. Bonshaw with his own hand tied Mr. Cargill's feet below the horse's belly very hard; he looked down to him, and said, 'Why do you ty me so hard? Your wicked-'ness is great, you will not long escape the just 'judgment of God; and, if I be not mistaken, it will 'seize upon you in this place.'

23dly, They hasted to Glasgow 16 miles, fearing the prisoners had been taken from them, which many of the Lord's zealous people would willingly have ventured their all to have delivered their brethren drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain, Prov. 24. 11, etc.; but their taking being

so surprizing, and their march so hasty, that they could not be conveened. When they came near the city, they turned him upon the horse, and led him in backward; which made many to weep to see their old minister in that posture, he being for some years settled minister in the Barony Kirk; and some wicked to rejoice. When they came to the Tolbooth, they halted until the magistrates came to receive them. John Nisbet, Bishop Paterson[52] of Glasgow's factor, looking over the stair, out of his great wickedness, merrily said, 'Mr. Cargill' (three times over in sport), 'in effect will you not give us 'one word more?' This he said, because Mr. Cargill in publick sometimes said, 'In effect we will say 'that one word,' or, 'I have one word more to say.' Mr. Cargill looked to him, and with much concernedness said, 'Wicked poor man, why do you 'mock? ere you die you will desire one word and 'will not get it.' Shortly thereafter he was struck dumb, his tongue swelling in his mouth. Robert Goodwin[53] and John Hodge, two Glasgow men, who were witnesses to this, and went to visit him lying in that case, told me this when in prison, in the years 1684 and '85, in the Canongate and Edinburgh. Robert Goodwin desired him to write what stopt him from speaking, and if he had a great desire to speak. He wrote, 'That it was a just judgment from 'the Lord, and the sayings of the minister verified 'upon him, for his mocking of him; and, if he had 'the whole world, he would give it for the use of his 'tongue again.' But that he never got.[54]

24thly, Bonshaw hasted to Edinburgh with his prisoners. When Mr. Cargill came before the Council, Chancellor Rothes raged against him, being one of the seven whom he had excommunicated at the Torwood the preceding year, and gave them over to their father the devil, whose works they did, and to whose service they had dedicated themselves. Rothes threatned him with extraordinary torture and violent death. He said, 'My Lord 'Rothes, forbear to threaten me; for, die what 'death I will, your eyes will not see it': and 'tis well known to some yet alive that he died that morning that Mr. Cargill, and these worthies with him, suffered in the afternoon.[55] Shortly after this compearance of Mr. Cargill before the Council, Rothes was seized with sickness and pains; and when he found the pangs of death turning sharp upon him, he cried out for some of his wife's ministers (she being a favourer of Presbyterian ministers),[56] for his ministers were good to live with but not to die with. He sent for old Mr. John Carstairs, who with Mr. George Johnston came to him. Mr. Carstairs dealt very faithfully and freely with him, rehearsing many wicked acts of his life: to whom he said, 'We all thought little of what 'that man did, in excommunicating us; but I find 'that sentence binding upon me now, and will bind 'to eternity.' When Mr. Johnston was praying, several noblemen and bishops being in the next room, some of them said to the bishops, 'He is a 'Presbyterian minister that is praying; the devil

'ane of you can pray as they do, tho' your prayers 'would keep a soul out of hell.' Rothes roring so loud under the horror of conscience, for his active wicked life in persecuting, made these noblemen leave him weeping.[57] William Duke of Hamilton said, 'We banish these men from us, and yet when 'dying we call for them; this is a melancholy work.'[58]

25thly, Mr. Cargill, and these martyrs murdered with him, got their indictments with sound of trumpet: when they ended their sound, he said, 'That's a weary sound, but the sound of the last 'trumpet will be a joyful sound to me, and all that 'will be found having on Christ's righteousness.'

26thly, While in prison, a gentlewoman visiting him told him, weeping, that the heaven-daring enemies were contriving and proposing an extraordinary violent death for him; some, a barrel with many pikes to roll him in, others an iron-chair, to heat it red-hot for his body to rost and burn there: he said, 'Let you nor none of the Lord's people be 'troubled for these things; for all that they will get 'liberty to do to me will be to knit me up, cut me 'down, and chop off my old head; and then fare 'them well, they have done with me, and I with 'them for ever.'

27thly, When he and these with him came to get their sentence of death, their indictments were read, wherein they had these sentences, as their common form then was, viz. 'Having cast off all 'fear of God, and acted so and so, and therefore 'deserved to be punished so and so': he said to

the clerk, 'Halt'; and, pointing to apostate Sir George Mackenzie then advocate, said, 'The man 'that has caused that paper to be drawn in that 'form, hath done it contrary to the light of his own 'conscience; for he knows I have been a fearer of 'God from my infancy; but, I say, the man that 'took the Holy Bible in his hand, and said, That it 'would never be well with the land until that book 'was destroyed, with many other wicked expressions 'and actions in his life; I say, he is the man that has 'cast off all fear of God.' The advocate storm'd at this; but did not deny the truth of it, knowing that he had thus expressed himself in some of his wicked mad fits. There is yet alive an old reverend minister, in the south of Scotland, was witness to this and can assert the truth of it, who several times since hath said that he admired the composedness and confidence of Mr. Cargill.[59] While in prison he had written at more large, tho' he was short, marrowy and sententious in preaching, praying, and writing, as may be seen in his few publick letters, his last short speech, and what he spoke upon the scaffold, published in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, which I wish from my heart that all the Lord's people would narrowly and seriously peruse; they have been very useful and edifying to me and to many others. His more large paper was taken from him by the wicked cursed keepers of that time; his short speech left behind him, he wrote that morning before he died, before eight of the clock that the doors were opened, and was to suffer that day.

28thly, He and these worthies murdered with him got their sentence of death the day before [he wrote that short speech], wherein these admirable and very rare sentences are to be found, viz. that that day was the most joyful day in all his life; and, that he had not been without an assurance of his interest in Christ these thirty years,[60] nor long out of his presence; and, that he never durst undertake to preach Christ and salvation to others, until he was sure of his own. Oh! if all our ministers had taken this course, there had been less defection among us; and, that it was long since he durst have ventured upon death and eternity, but death remained somewhat terrible, but now the terror of that was taken away; and by vertue of the mercies of God, and merits of Christ, he had a conscience as quiet and calm as if he had never sinned. When he came to the scaffold and foot of the ladder, he blessed the Lord with uplifted hands, that he was thus near the crown; and when setting his foot upon the ladder to go up to embrace the bloody rope, he said, 'The 'Lord knows, I go up this ladder with less fear, 'confusion, or perturbation of mind, than ever I 'entred a pulpit to preach.' He was first turned over: Mr. Smith, as he did cleave to him in love and unity in life, so he died with his face upon his breast; next Mr. Boig, then William Cuthil and William Thomson: these five worthies hang all on one gibbet at the Cross of Edinburgh, on that never to be forgotten bloody day, the 27th of July 1681. The enemies got this great glut of blood, the day

before the down-sitting of the Parliament, wherein the Duke of York did preside as commissioner.[61] The hangman hash'd and hagg'd off all their heads with an ax. Mr. Cargill's, Mr. Smith's, and Mr. Boig's heads were fixed upon the Netherbow-port, William Cuthil's and William Thomson's upon the West-port.

29thly, The wicked, cursed of God, and hated of all right-thinking men Bonshaw got not his reward of 6000 merks, till the next year in May, the price of innocent blood, precious blood, dear blood, blood that cries both loud and long. How shall or can the tyranny of shedding innocent blood, and defections of all ranks in those days, be forgot? Shortly thereafter he came to Lanark, where he and one of his cursed comerads fell a fighting; his comerad thrust him through the belly with a sword, where blood and dirt ran out. This account I had from several worthy persons, who were witnesses to both the threatnings of the man of God, when he tied him hard, and to the accomplishment thereof. Bonshaw's last words were, 'God damn his soul 'eternally, for he was gone.' Mischief shall hunt the violent man till he be ruined; which makes good the old Scots saying, 'Such life, such end with 'the most part.'

Whoso desires to be further informed of the life and death of blest Cargill, let them peruse the relations that are given of him by Mr. Shiels, in the *Hind let Loose*, and in the *Cloud of Witnesses*.[62] His last testimony, and what he spake upon the

scaffold, his marrowy sententious letters to several prisoners when under sentence of death, and his letter to the Gibbites in the correction-house, and his letter to his parish, yet in the hands of some, are to be found in the *Cloud of Witnesses.*[63]

30thly, When that blest singular Christian, zealous and faithful minister and martyr, Mr. Cargill, was first apprehended and brought before the Council, they were very fierce and furious against him, especially Chancellor Rothes: but these that were in Council, and heard what Mr. Cargill said to him, and saw and heard what Rothes said when he was dying, roring under horror of conscience, and his bed shaking, put a fright upon their spirits, and drew tears from their eyes, which verified what he said at the Fala-hill on the Sabbath after the excommunication, as before related, and made them to propose in Council, that he was old and had done all the ill he would do, to let him go to the Bass and be prisoner there during life. It was put to the vote, and Argyle said, 'Let him go to the gallows, and die 'like a traitor'; which cast the votes upon him to die, as I said before.[64]

The Parliament sat down the day following, July 28, which framed the cursed test, with seven contradictory oaths in it, which Argyle took with explication.[65] This did not satisfy the Duke of York and others, looking upon him with an ill eye, because of his father's being active in our Reformation; he was immediately clapt up prisoner in the castle, out of which he escaped the 20th day of

December following.[66] He fled south to the border, where he met with Mr. Veitch, late minister in Dunfries, who conducted him through the country to the house of Mr. Bitleston, near Newcastle. After they were set down, Mr. Bitleston enquired Mr. Veitch's news, being his acquaintance. Argyle being a stranger, disguised in coarse clothes, Mr. Bitleston said, 'I have received a letter just now 'from Scotland, that Argyle was escaped out of the 'castle; of which I am very glad, if it be certain.' Mr. Veitch said he doubted not the certainty of it. They insisted both in expressing their joy at the news. Mrs. Bitleston, being present, said, 'I cannot 'be so much taken up with these news as you are; 'I know that house of Argyle was a good house for 'our Reformation, and his father suffered for it; 'but, for himself, he hath been a member of that 'wicked bloody Council these eighteen years, where 'many a wicked thing hath been acted and done: 'but, above all, it was his wicked vote that took 'away the life of our worthy dear friend, singular 'Mr. Cargill. And I am sure his blood may ly 'heavy on him now, and make him have a melan-'cholly flight and hiding.' Argyle made no reply. After they had got a drink, she conveyed them to different rooms; after some time she went to Argyle's room, being the greatest stranger. He had laid down a fine watch and night-cap upon the table, which did not answer his clothes; he had opened up himself, which perfumed the room. She came quickly back to her husband, and said, 'I am

'perswaded this is Argyle.' He said, 'I am of the 'same mind; but you are oft-times o'er plain in 'your discourse.' She said, 'No, no; 'tis good 'speaking to him now in the day of his distress; 'if we were once set down to dinner, I shall use 'more freedom.' In the time thereof they came to speak of his escape again; she took the occasion, and told all the ill things she heard about him. He said, 'Argyle will not free himself of many of these 'things; but he is not so guilty of them all as the 'world reports him to be.' After this, Mr. Veitch told them that it was Argyle, and that he resolved for London. He then put himself in another dress, but could not have a fine horse. Mr. Bitleston gifted him his gelding, and sent his son John to convoy them, who gave me this account when he returned. Argyle gave him a little purse and thirty guineas in it. When he came to his father, he gave the purse to him; his father said, 'Johnnie, if I had 'known this, you should not have gone your foot-'length with them; there 's more here than my 'horse is worth.' Mr. Veitch convey'd him to London.[67] When Mr. Veitch parted with him, he said to him, 'Give my love and service to all friends 'where we have been, but especially to my free-'communing landlady Mrs. Bitleston.' From that he went to Holland, and was abroad until the middle of May 1685, and then came to Inverary with some men and many notable arms. Monmouth came to England that same summer.

After Argyle landed, one morning walking at the

water-side very sad, Mr. Thomas Urquhart, who suffered in the Grass-market that same summer,[68] came to him and said, 'I am sorry to see your 'Lordship so melancholly.' He said, 'How can I 'be otherwise? I see few coming to our assistance; 'I am perswaded I will be called, Infatuate Argyle. 'But all that does not trouble me so much as that 'unhappy wicked vote I gave against that good 'man and minister, Mr. Cargill; and now I am per-'swaded I 'll die a violent death, in that same spot 'where he died,' which came to pass in July thereafter, when he was beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh.[69]

Some say that he spoke of that vote to some friends that morning before he died, that, above all things in his life, that lay heaviest upon him. Some yet alive can assert the truth of this relation, to whom Mr. Urquhart told this, immediately after Argyle exprest himself thus, and who came from Holland with them.

This may let all see the danger of high stations in the world, and publick posts, especially in evil times.

I have seen some of Mr. Cargill's sermons in writ, but I never saw none as he spake them; and I have been much pressed to publish them and other old sermons, which I dare not do upon several considerations; knowing that sermons would have past then, and very edifying, which will not pass now in

this critick and censorious age without reflections; not knowing how they were taken from their mouth, nor what hands they have come through since.[70] There is a sermon of singular Mr. Renwick lately published, and titled, *The Lord's Return to Scotland* (without either time or place, when or where), upon that text, 'Alas! for that day is great! it is 'even the time of Jacob's trouble, but he shall be de-'livered out of it.'[71] On which he had two sermons; and it is the last of these, and the application of the first, which makes it very lame. But I know that one of them was preached at Darmad in Killing-Time, 1685; although I did not hear them, being in Dunnotar Castle, yet I heard some of our sufferers speak much of these sermons with advantage from what is publish'd.

The end of Mr. Daniel Cargill's Life.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND DEATH OF THAT TRULY PIOUS AND WORTHY MINISTER, MR. WALTER SMITH,

Who was born in the parish of St. Ninians, and suffered for the Lord's cause with these worthies, viz. Mr. Cargill, Mr. Boig, William Cuthil, and William Thomson, at the Cross of Edinburgh:

Together with Twenty two Steps of the Defection of the Times, wrote by him in prison.

THE foresaid singular, worthy, and faithful unto the death Mr. Walter Smith was born in the parish of St. Ninians, near Airth; esteemed by all solid, serious, exercised and zealous Christians, who knew him, to be deeply exercised in the life and power of godliness; of high attainments, and great experience in the serious exercise and solid practice of Christianity (as all may find in his dying words, in the *Cloud of Witnesses*) and of grace, gifts, and learning, which are the only three qualifications that fit and complete a man for the ministry. His professor of divinity in Holland at Utrecht, when

he heard of his publick violent bloody death of martyrdom, said, weeping, in his broken English, 'Oh Smite, Smite, the great brave Smite, who 'exceeded all that ever I taught! He was capable 'to teach many, but few to instruct him.'[1] The hell wicked-witted, bloodthirsty Graham of Claverhouse, who hated to spend his time with wine and women, which made him more active in violent unheard-of persecution, especially blood;[2] when he examined some of our sufferers, whom he looked upon as simple, several times said, in a mocking manner wherein he exceeded all persecutors, 'The taking 'away the life of Mr. Cargill was comparatively a 'small guilt, being so old, having done the most 'part of the good he could do among you; but the 'murdering of Mr. Smith was a horrid crime, being 'such a polish'd shaft meet to be laid to the Lord's 'work.'

Mr. Smith had a great longing desire to be authorized to preach Christ and him crucified, and salvation in his name alone, to the world. Mr. Cargill had the same longing desire, and, for that end, had written to Mr. Hepburn, and another minister, to meet them at the Cummer-head in Lesmahago in Clydsdale; but, ere that day, that door was closed, and they were in the enemies' hands, to the great grief of many serious zealous souls; the greater part of the not-indulged ministers having, in that Erastian meeting held in August 1679, after Bothwel, in Edinburgh, accepted of a third indulgence with the cautionry-bond, to their perpetual stain and shame,

laid down conclusions to give an Act of Licence or Ordination to none who would not come under restrictions from going to the field, and giving publick faithful and free warning of all the national snares and defections of these days, especially from the actual indulged.[3] However, Mr. Smith followed the example of our blessed Saviour, in going about doing good in many places and to many persons, in a spiritual edifying converse, and singular example of piety and zeal, which had more influence upon many than the most part of ministers in this day; he was also very helpful to Mr. Cargill in his converse and advice in difficult cases, and praying in families, when he was fatigued with sore travel going on his feet, being an old man; and in publick preaching-days precenting for him, which I have been a witness to. In that time he drew up the following *Twenty-two Steps of Defection*, or causes of God's wrath, at the desire of society-meetings, especially in Clydsdale, which they had to sigh, cry and mourn for in secret, in societies, and general fasting days, which he own'd in his last dying words, which are to be seen in the *Cloud of Witnesses*;[4] notwithstanding historian Wodrow, in his biassed partial doited way of writing upon these heads, says, that Mr. Smith at his last spoke without that heat and these heights, which in some cases he had discovered in the former part of his life.[5] But, let Mr. Wodrow, and all the world to help him, instruct what these heats and heights were but what is to be found in these *Twenty-two Steps of Defection*,

to the which he refers his judgment in our national affairs, not having time nor conveniency to write at large, which I did see some time before his death, and to this day nothing added or diminished. But this is of a piece with his [*i.e.* Wodrow's] many fool nonsensical groundless reflections upon the faithful followers of the Lamb, and their testimony in that day against the tyranny and defections of all kinds, especially casting off of tyrants and their idol Charles II. and separation from the indulged, the king's royal dawties (as Mr. Peden used to call them), they are also Mr. Wodrow's dawties; but these that deal in dirt cannot have clean hands. But, if my wicked deceitful heart deceive me not, I would not be guilty of his many such reflections for the rich and honourable crown of Britain; yea, nor all the crowns that the crown'd heads of the world enjoy. Mr. Smith also, a little before his death, drew up the twenty-two following *Rules for Society-Meetings*, which at that time increast greatly both in number of societies and members, from the river of Tay to Newcastle, wherein he was very instrumental in the erecting and getting a General Correspondence settled four times yearly,[6] amongst all, that they might speak often one to another, when they wanted the publick preaching of the gospel in these unheard-of melancholy years; and to appoint general fasting days in one day amongst all, and these defections to be the chief causes; and that each society to meet and spend some part of the Lord's day together, when deprived of publick ordinances. The short

time also that Mr. Cargill and Mr. Cameron were publickly preaching among them, and conversing through several corners of the land, had also great influence upon many to unite in these particular societies and General Correspondencies, which was a mean blest of the Lord with wonderful success, for stating and maintaining of an active testimony against tyranny and defections of all kinds, both upon the left and right hand, and to the great unity, edification, and comfort of these United Societies; for eight years' time, all seeing with one eye, and hearing with one ear, and speaking with one breath, without any jarr or discord, except a little time in the year 1685, which I formerly mentioned in my preface to *Peden's Life*.[7] Mr. Cargill said that these society-meetings would increase more and more for a time; but when the judgment came upon this sinful land, there would be few standing society-meetings, when there would be most need; few mourners, prayers and pleaders, what through spiritual plagues, carnality, security, darkness, deadness and divisions.

Follow the Twenty-two Steps of Defection

It was his desire that they should be enlarged upon: and, if any should enlarge upon these, and follow out the tract and steps of our defections, these 50 years since he composed them, with as much dis-

tinctness and faithfulness as he did for 30 years before, from the beginning of our backslidings; it would be an astonishing black black catalogue. And, if they were divided and given to every rank, and divided party, their due of what they are guilty of in these defections, it would meet with the same treatment that Jeremiah's roll did, 'Burn, burn them.' And the greater part of our churchmen with the first, whose hands have been chief in all our national defections first and last, and that with aggravations above all others, repentance in them being very rare whatever they are guilty of, but who will either deny, defend, or extenuate: and next to them the whole of our form'd divided parties, commonly called Dissenters, but more properly Schismaticks. I have seen these 50 years bygone many gracious souls, that fainted and fell into our left-hand defections, not being able to endure the violent flames of the fiery trials of that time, truly humbled, and weep bitterly, both in their life and at their death for the same; but, except a few that were led out of the way with John Gibb, I have seen few, yea, very few, of our right-hand extremers that I could say in judgment of charity were truly grieved or mourned for these. The spiritual pride of churchmen, and these that have been left to run upon right-hand excesses, are greater than to suffer them to confess, mourn for, or forsake. When the foresaid worthy Mr. Smith drew up these *Steps of Defections*, John Gibb was not then discovered; but, in his dying words that he wrote that morning he suffered

martyrdom, he gives a plain and positive testimony against that demented spirit of delusion and division, which I gave an account of before,[8] that brake out in Holland at Rotterdam amongst our Scots sufferers 1679, and spread through Scotland like muirburn whatever since, and at this day are rampant in Scotland, which is all one spirit of delusion, division, and confusion of Gibbites, Russelites, Harlites, Howdonites, Adamites, M'Millanites, and of glancing Glassites[9] lately start up, in their new lights and flights deserting and disowning the good honest old covenanted Presbyterianism, and denying the lawfulness and obligation of our National and Solemn League and Covenant (for which our faithful zealous reformers earnestly contended; and our highly honoured late martyrs, ministers and people, lived and died owning and adhering to the same, for which they counted nothing too dear), though not all alike furiously driven and different [in] pretensions.

When these two unhappy principles were first invented and practised, whereof Mr. Hamilton was chief, viz. that 'Every difference of judgment in our 'national controversies is a ground of separation';[10] and that 'There is no way of keeping up and manag-'ing a testimony, but by separation,' which hath a direct tendency to dissolve the unity of all churches, break all Christian societies, and ruine the whole frame of the good old cause of Presbyterianism, which was faithfully and with soul-abhorrence witnessed against at the very first out-breaking thereof by blest M'Waird, both privily and publickly in

his writings against the same, of which I formerly gave some account.[11] Mr. Smith's very words are these, 'Beware of a spirit of bitterness, peremptori-'ness and ignorant zeal, which have been the ruin of 'some, and will be the ruin of more if mercy prevent 'not. I was withdrawn from by some, as having 'given offence to them by my protesting against 'their way in a particular, wherein I am sure, as to 'the manner, they were wrong. And, tho' they 'had been right, it was not a ground to have made 'such a separation from me; much less [from] those 'that joined with me,' (which were Mr. M'Waird, Mr. Douglas and others, for hearing of Mr. Robert Fleming preach in the Scots kirk, who was never actually indulged, but kept and pled for keeping up communion with the actually indulged, as formerly I gave a more full account): 'and, if any division 'be longer kept up upon that account, they will 'find it a great iniquity, if rightly considered. I 'can get no more written, nor see I great need for 'it, for the testimony of martyrs is not your rule.'[12]

A Brief Rehearsal of some few of the many steps of our defections, from the 1649 to the 1681, drawn up by the famous Mr. Walter Smith, at the earnest desire of some United Societies in Clydsdale, and which he owns and refers himself to in his last dying words, when he got the crown of martyrdom July 27, 1681, at the Cross of Edinburgh, about 26 years of age.

I. That notwithstanding of the shining brightness and presence of God in the Church of Scotland in these years, from the 1638 to the 1649, by which iniquity's mouth was much stopt, and the hands of the godly much strengthned, that yet the greatest part of our ministers, and others with them, should have fallen upon publick resolutions to bring in again known malignants to places of power and trust, in judicatories and armies, who, to this very day, have it for their work to ruin religion and godliness, and all persons in the land, who dare not follow them in their wicked and pernicious courses whatsomever.

II. That after the removal of the late king, both Church and State have agreed to proclaim and bring home and set up this man Charles II., who is now both an idol and a tyrant, to rule over a Christian people in covenant with God, while by many evidences he was known to be a heart-enemy to God and godliness, and, in all his oaths and declarations, a mocking hypocrite; and yet our ministers and others have been still so wedded to malignant

rulers, that, at the same time or thereabout, they deposed several faithful ministers, and excommunicate worthy Colonel Strachan to gain these enemies' favour, thus for our backsliding we are filled with our own ways.

III. When in the providence of God this tyrant was beat at Worcester,[13] and redacted to exile, yet we would not hear the language of the rod, but in our hearts cleaved to our idol king, against whom, together with ourselves, the Lord had expressed his hot indignation, immediately after we had espoused his quarrel and interest. Now the Lord makes our own doings to correct us, and we are ensnared with the work of our own hands.

IV. That in all that interval of time, betwixt his going out of the nation after Worcester and his return in the year 1660, there was so little done for God by either Church or State, but a door kept open for his return to tyrannize and set up his heathenish laws and government, which, in the righteous judgment of God, hath since been both our snare and our scourge.

V. When in the year 1660, and afterwards, this tyrant came to the throne, minding none of his former engagements to God and his people, he overturned the sworn-to work of reformation, and burnt the Covenants, and brought in abjured and antichristian Prelacy upon us, that yet there was not only a deep silence at all this, both in Church and State, which was hainous ingratitude to God, and a grievous breach of our former engagements

(for then should the whole land solemnly have rejected him), but also a dreadful compliance expressed by all ranks in setting on of bonfires, ringing of bells, ranting and rejoycing, and never a publick testimony to be heard of against such iniquous courses; but, on the contrary, watchmen, that should have warned others, made it their work many of them to stop the giving of a testimony, for fear of irritating these unrighteous rulers, and thus Mr. Guthry, Argyle, and Waristoun were basely murdered,[14] and the land defiled with precious innocent blood, and not a man of us to speak against it, for which cause, amongst many others, God, in his just judgment, has to this day plagued us with spiritual blindness, that still we go further astray from him.

VI. That upon the issuing out of that sacrilegious Act at Glasgow, when 600 of the ministers had complied with that detestable Prelacy, the rest slipped from their kirks, as if they had not been obliged to obey God rather than man;[15] and the greater part of them not only left their flocks to be destroyed by hireling wolves, but also went and heard the curates themselves, and perswaded the people to follow their base and bad example.

VII. When in the year 1666, these otherwise worthy zealous Christians were forced to arms by the oppression of the tyrant's emissaries, they renewed the covenants,[16] without either acknowledging former breaches, or keeping out the tyrant's interest, who had overturned the work of reformation, and broken

and burnt these covenants, tho' they never bound us to their and our destroyers.

VIII. That after our gracious God had given us a door of hope, by accepting of a testimony at the hands of many witnesses, who were murder'd and martyr'd at and after Pentland; and preserved some and raised up others, both ministers and professors, to be zealous for him in preaching and hearing the persecuted blest gospel on the high places of the fields in jeopardy of their lives; yet nevertheless many of our ministers, that for the most part had lurked and lien by from their Master's work, did actually accept and imbrace that dreadful and divisive indulgence tendered by the tyrant and his bloody Council to break us, and left their faithful brethren to be the butt of the enemy's malice and malignants' cruelty, and others of them gaping after it, tho' they could not have it. And thus that base idol was worshipped in his usurping supremacy by the greatest part, and the rest of them dealt neither faithfully nor freely with their brethren, for their unheard-of steps of defections, by withdrawing from them, as they ought to have done, seeing they walked disorderly and caused divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which we had learned.[17] Nor did they faithfully warn the people to avoid them, but strengthned their hand in their evil courses, by joining with them in preaching in their pulpits, and refusing to preach in the fields within the bounds of their indulged parishes, or baptize or marry any in these parishes, tho', in the second

article of our engagement to duties, we are bound to defend our Church's liberties and privileges against all incroachments from what hand soever.[18]

IX. When a number of idle ly-by ministers, that had lurked at Edinburgh and Glasgow and elsewhere, could not but see that the Lord was carrying on and countenancing the great work of the persecuted gospel in mosses, muirs and mountains, they thought it high time for them to bestir themselves, came out to the help of their brethren in the fields, without acknowledging and mourning over their shameful and sinful silence, and their compliance with Prelacy and the indulgence; and, instead of preaching Christ to the poor people in all his three offices, preached up the credit of their indulged brethren, and down the duty of defending the persecuted gospel, which so stumbled many of their hearers who were capable to distinguish betwixt sin and duty in such points, that they knew not whom to hear, nor what to receive as commanded duty, little remembring our national engagements.

X. That at two several meetings of ministers, one at Edinburgh, and another at Dunscore, they censured worthy Mr. Cameron, whom the Lord raised up to be faithfully free, for his preaching against the hearing of the indulged ministers, and laid bonds on others not to preach against them.[19]

XI. That while we had our ministers and ordinances in somewhat both of power and plenty, tho' under the enemy's constant persecution, we did

idolize them, made ministers our rule, and gave them too much of Christ's room in our hearts. And now, when they are turned aside, and laid aside their Master's work, and, by their sinful and shameful silence, the land 's laid desolate, and no publick testimony kept up at least by preaching, we are ready to be bitter against their persons more than their defections, and to make them more the subject of our discourse and contempt than of our mourning and humiliation before God, which speaks out this plainly, that amongst all our other spiritual plagues there is yet still a spirit of pride, self-confidence and ignorance abounding amongst too many, contrair to the scope of gospel-principles.

XII. That ministers gave so little faithful warning of the adversary's dreadful designs, in putting through their several ensnaring bonds, together with their other dreadful acts and proclamations to ensnare the people's consciences, and to make them by force and fraud peaceably to submit to the tyrannical government; and that Act of their pretended Convention of Estates for imposing a cess to uphold soldiers, or rather (we may say) robbers and murderers, for destroying of the Lord's work, and to imprison and murder all that would faithfully witness against these wicked and abominable courses. And thus many, for want of faithful warning of the sinfulness of these defections, and others, for fear of trouble and suffering, have dreadfully sinned and strengthned the hands of these bloody butchers both in city and country, and so the whole land 's in great

guilt, and brought under great wrath. Oh Lord, save a remnant.

XIII. After the Lord gave us the victory over Clavers and his party at Drumclog, anno 1679, we behaved not as persons that were fighting the Lord's battles; but, instead of pursuing the victory that God wonderfully put in our hands, and sanctifying the Lord of Hosts in our hearts and before the people by giving him the praise, did greedily run upon the spoil, and took some of the enemy prisoners, and gave them quarters, tho' guilty of death,[20] and so brought ourselves under that curse of doing the work of the Lord deceitfully, by withholding our sword from shedding of their blood; and yet we refused to be convinced that our sparing of the lives of these, whom God has appointed to utter destruction, is one of the causes why our lives go for theirs:[21] and after that went to Glasgow out of time, without asking solemn counsel of God or consulting right reason.

XIV. When after all this the Lord continued to be tender of that army, there was a paper presented to the council of war for regulating the army, and keeping out of scandalous and disaffected persons; yet it was neglected and slighted, and so a door was left open for all sorts of persons to come in amongst us, whereby a number of idle vagabonds and self-seeking plunderers [came in] that brought reproach upon the cause and army; and moreover we were opprest by a number of indulged ministers and gentlemen that still opposed the keeping of a day of humiliation,

lest we should make mention of their idol the indulgence, as one of the causes of the Lord's controversy with the land, which they will needs have to be referred to a General Assembly, and other things in controversy to a free Parliament; and by these means that great duty was neglected, and our great guilt before the Lord past over and covered.

XV. When that party of ministers and others publish'd that sinful and shameful declaration at Hamiltoun and elsewhere, with a 'Save the King' at the end of it;[22] and afterward, contrair to engagement, printed it, there were few or none of us all that faithfully opposed it; but it was sent abroad as a declaration of that army, whereby the state of the Lord's cause was quite perverted, and there were so many mediators to keep us together that we never separated ourselves from such persons, nor protested against their sinful and shameful foolish practices. But, as if all this had been a small matter, we were drawn over by them to send a petition to the Duke of Monmouth, for that which we should neither have sought from him, nor was he in a capacity to grant us. But by this the enemy's hands were strengthned and ours weakned, and we shamefully put to flight before them.

XVI. That after the murdering of Mr. John King and Mr. John Kid at the Cross of Edinburgh, anno 1679, upon the issuing out of that which they called an indemnity, and a liberty to ministers that would be peaceable to preach in houses upon the people's bond, there was nothing but bonfires and

rejoicings, notwithstanding of the death of these two faithful ministers and martyrs that same afternoon; and the ministers came out of their prisons, submitting themselves with their own hands, with the adversary's fetters upon them and their ministry, one witness in Stirling Castle excepted; and afterwards a meeting, calling themselves a General Meeting, voted for the acceptation of the new liberty, some of them actually accepting of it; and others, tho' they did not astrict themselves to one place, nor the people bind themselves for their peaceable behaviour, yet to preach generally in houses (quite altering their former method before the defeat at Bothwel-bridge, wherein the Lord did countenance them in a singular manner, while they stood in the defence of the free preached gospel); either keeping close to Council's orders, or else giving no particular testimony against them that did so, nor against the Council's usurpation: and, when ever the Council recalled their liberty, they returned generally to their former lurking. Thus they did violence to the law of God, by giving obedience to the unjust laws of wicked and perjur'd men.

XVII. After the Lord in his providence had brought home Mr. Cameron out of Holland, there was none of the ministers that would give their consent to his going to the fields at that time to keep up a publick testimony for our Lord Jesus Christ, and against the publick and avowed adversaries and these detestable indulged courses, except

Mr. Donald Cargill and Mr. Thomas Douglas, who went along with him for a time.

XVIII. After the work of the gospel was again carried on by these worthy, eminent witnesses, in some places of the nation, with much of the power and presence of God, and these usurping tyrants and murderers rejected by the declaration at Sanquhar,[23] tho' in the just judgment of God on these lands, because this duty was so long neglected, and this omission not mourned over as it ought, we are this day left desolate to lament the loss of such honoured instruments: yet notwithstanding of all this, the generality both of ministers and professors have taken the same course with the actually indulged, to calumniate and persecute the witnessing remnant—both the living and the dead, who have overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, not loving their lives unto the death—[by] the reproaching of them with unsound and Jesuitical principles, as tho' they and we both were not bound, by our covenant-vows to the most high God, to bring malignants, and all that are enemies to the sworn-to work of reformation, to condign punishment, and also, to maintain the liberties and privileges of the once reformed, but now deformed and ruined Church. Oh let us seek for hearts to mourn, that ministers and professors should thus cast off the bonds, and despise the oath of God, and become persecutors of the truth.

XIX. That now, after the rejecting and excommunicating of that tyrant and these traitors, we are

so little resolute in looking to the Lord only for relief and outgate, but taking offensive courses to be out from under the cross; some petitioning the bloody Council, others bribing the excommunicate advocate Mr. Mackenzie: some giving bond to live peaceably with them, others giving bond to compear before their courts at their pleasure and call: and thus, by their own consent, a snare is laid for their lives if they shall be found, in the way of their duty, faithfully witnessing for Christ and his persecuted truths. O let us mourn for this, that there are so many to do against the truth, and so few for the truth.

XX. That notwithstanding of all the various ways that the Lord hath been taking to increase knowledge, and to make the light of the glorious gospel break forth amongst us, and particularly knowledge of that soul-reviving truth of Christ's being the only king and head of his Church; yet so few ministers have been workers together with him in this matter, in examining and catechising, and holding forth the terms of the covenant of grace to professors of all sorts, and particular heads of families. Notwithstanding of all our spiritual plagues and judgments, we are so little diligent to set time apart, alone and with others, to wrestle with God to abide in the land, and to seek a right way for ourselves; and that we have been so little diligent to instruct the ignorant, and especially those under our charge, in the principles of the true religion, by making them read, and teaching them to understand our Confession of Faith,

catechisms, and our national covenants and engagements.

XXI. That after many have been convinced of the sinfulness of our backslidings and complying courses, particularly of paying cess and locality to dragoons and soldiers, strengthning the hands of the adversaries, weakning our own hands, and offending our brethren: that we continue in and venture upon such sinful courses, for fear of suffering for Christ, not trusting in God for through-bearing in a present world, which, alas! speaks but much heart-atheism, unbelief, and little acquaintance with the love of Christ in a spiritual and holy gospel-conversation, before this adulterous and persecuting generation.

XXII. That now when this excommunicated Papist, the Duke of York, is received and entertain'd with so great grandeur, and we ready to be swallowed up by Papists, and the land covered with Egyptian darkness, if the Lord prevent it not; yea, we are so far from a sight of our own and the land's guiltiness, that there is little agreement or concord amongst us [in] falling upon a way to prevent the utter ruin of our persons, families and estates, and true religion, but bitterness, passion, pride and envy, every one esteeming themselves, and their own way, better than their neighbours, contrary to that gospel-precept, 'Let every one esteem another 'better than themselves.' And thus there is a refusing to receive conviction of sin in particular, but a hardning [of] our faces against the Lord's dispensations, tho' never so speaking. And here we

obtest and intreat these men (who once seemed to be brethren in covenant with us; but now, by their indulging courses, have betrayed the cause of Christ, and, by their language and practice, have rendred us, the poor suffering remnant, the butt of the enemy's malice to act their cruelty on us, tho' they were bound, in their covenant to God, to contend for the privileges of the church as well as we) in the bowels of Christ to consider well the nature of that union which they drive and plead for, seeing the whole ingredients of a Christian union must only have the stamp of divine institution, and can in nowise suffer the mixture of human inventions.

RULES AND DIRECTIONS anent private Christian Meetings, for Prayer and Conference to mutual edification, and to the right management of the same.[24]

THAT it is the duty of private Christians to meet together for their mutual edification, by prayer and conference, may be evinced by these following Scriptures, among others that might be named, viz. 1 Thess. v. 11; Colos. iii. 16; Heb. x. 24, 25; and from the laudable and much commended practice of the people of God in all ages, both under the Old and New Testament, as it is Mal. iii. 16. This seems to

have been the practice of the Lord's people under their captivity at Babylon, Psal. cxxxvii. For to what other purpose went they out and sat by the rivers of Babel, but to remember Zion, both in their prayers to God, and in their communication? And so likewise frequently in the Acts of the Apostles, we find it practised by the primitive Christians: and it is beyond all question that the right performance of this duty has been attended by singular advantage, both to the publick work of God and to persons' own private condition, who, to their comfortable experience, have found many blessed fruits and effects following upon their conscientious performance of this duty. Yea further, it hath been frequently observed that, in such places within the churches of Scotland where this duty is most practised, there true and serious religion does most thrive, and the professors thereof are ordinarily the most useful members both in Church and Commonwealth: so that the wilful neglect of this duty is no small sin; especially considering that such a neglect tends very much to discourage these who are endeavouring to make conscience of performing this duty. And therefore it is greatly to be wished that both ministers and experienced Christians, where they live, were more active in exciting and stirring up themselves and others to a more diligent and constant practice of so warrantable and useful a duty; especially in such a day of tentation, in which the Lord, by his holy and wise providence, is giving his people very loud

calls to seriousness, and diligence in all commanded duties.

Now, that such private meetings for prayer and conference may be so managed, as the same may tend to the glory of God, the advancement of religion, and the mutual edification of the members thereof, which is the chief if not the only end of these meetings, these few particulars may be observed.

1. This being a private duty, and mutual among private Christians, it is convenient, and for preventing of confusion and disorder, there be few more than ten or twelve in a society.

2. When any society increaseth much above ten or twelve, it is fit they divide themselves in two: tho' they should be few in each society at the first, and, when the division is needful, let it be with consent of the whole; and, for preventing of any difference about the choice of persons, let two of the present number be nominate by the whole, and let these two in presence of the meeting choose each of them one, time about, until they have made up two equal meetings of the whole, and then let them part. (It is still to be remembred and considered, when these rules were composed, the Lord's people got not orderly met for the murdering enemies, some of them [were] taken by the way, and meetings taken when together in the night-time, whom I knew suffered hard things among their hands;[25] yea, some taken praying in families, who suffered unto death.) Their living near together, or at great distance from other, is also to be con-

sidered to determine what number is expedient to be in each meeting.

3. These who are already in practice of this duty should take all prudent methods in dealing with others, who may be fit for this duty, to join with societies already erected, or to set up new meetings where they may be had; and if, where societies are newly erected, none of the members thereof were formerly in any society, it is fit that the neighbouring society send some of their members for some time to meet with them, till they have some experience in the duty.

4. That none be invited, or upon his own desire brought, into any society, but by the advice and consent of all the society; and that he be particularly known, at least to some of the members, that he is one who makes conscience of secret prayer, and of prayer in his family (if he hath any), and that he is of an exemplary and blameless conversation, and free of all scandal: but before he be brought into the society, let his name be proposed in the meeting; and, if all consent, he may be admitted a member at the next meeting of the society: but, if any objection be made, it is fit his admission be delayed till it be further cleared, if it be a matter not known to all.

5. If one society or more desire to set apart a day (beside their ordinary) for humiliation and prayer, upon some singular occasion, let it be done by grave deliberation, and by correspondence if among more societies, that they may all consider

upon the occasion and necessity, that so it may be done with joint consent; but, still let all be done in a private way, they being only private Christians that design it; and therefore, they are not to impose it upon any but themselves; except where it may be that two societies are so small, that they think it convenient to join together for that day: and altho' private persons have not power to appoint a day to the people for publick humiliation or thanksgiving, this belonging properly to ministers, yet, if at any time a motion be made among societies of the necessity of keeping such a day, they may make application to their ministers, and propose their motion and reasons to them: but the ministers are to judge whether it be seasonable, and to appoint a day if they find it convenient, and what reasons they find needful; otherways the people are not to take upon them to fix a day, or define the causes of a fast or thanksgiving in publick.

6. In all their debates, reasonings and actings, one with another, let them still carry suitably to their stations, in a private brotherly way, and let nothing be done that looks like a partial way of exercising discipline.

7. At every diet of meeting (which may be once every week for ordinary) the time they design to stay together (which may be four hours at least, if their conveniency can possibly allow) should be seriously and closely spent about the work for which they meet, which is prayer and spiritual conference: and for this end,

8. Let them beware of being diverted from their present work, by talking about their worldly affairs or the publick news, until they close, except something fall for the informing the meeting, the account whereof may be useful for exciting to prayer and thanksgiving; and the time set apart for this exercise, being devoted to the Lord and their own soul's edification, should be no otherwise employed.

9. That every one carefully shun being tedious, either in prayer or conference, that the work be not made burdensom to any; for we should consider one another's infirmities.

10. Let all undervaluing, or the least appearance of slighting, be carefully avoided, Phil. ii. 23. For a person may be weak in knowledge and other parts, and yet greater in sincerity and singleness of heart, which is most acceptable to God. Particularly, let all beware of disdainful slighting any answer given to a question, tho' it may be weak, and not so closs to the purpose: but let the more judicious and expert make the best use of it they can, for the person's and the rest's edification.

11. That the conference may be the more edifying, in the interval between prayer there may a question be proposed, and, for order's sake, it is usual that he who prayed last propose the question, which is to be briefly answered. But, if either he be not so fit or have not any thing for the time, another may do it; and if nothing occur to any, or if differences arise about the answers given to the question proposed, then let them forbear at that time, and go to

prayer again, which is their main business in these private meetings.

12. In proposing questions for conference, let these things following be observed :—(1) Let nothing be moved which tends only to satisfy curiosity. (2) Let no question be proposed anent any sublime point of divinity, in which there are great difficulties, such as the decrees of God, predestination, election. And, (3) That they be very sparing in proposing questions anent the sense and interpretation of Scriptures, especially these places which are more hard and difficult, 2 Pet. iii. 16. And, it belonging properly to ministers to open up or explain the Scriptures ministerially, no private Christian should presume to do it, Heb. v. 4; seeing Christ hath set in his church pastors and doctors, as a distinct office for interpreting and applying Scripture to the people's edification; and the meddling with this by private Christians has proven of fatal and dangerous consequences, towards the bringing in of error, contention and division into the Church of Christ, as the lamentable case of the Church of England, not many years ago, did clearly evidence. Yet it may tend to the promoting of knowledge, that every member impart any light he hath gotten, either by reading, hearing, or any other way, for the mutual good and edification of the rest by way of conference; yet so as still to beware of meddling with obscure places of Scripture, as is already directed. (4) They are to beware to propose any subject for conference anent things controverted among godly

ministers and professors. And, lastly, let nothing be proposed that may occasion needless animosities, contentions and debates, which tend to the marring of love and edification; but let such questions as are proposed be only anent practical cases, and about the ordering the conversation, so as the same may be holy and inoffensive, and whatever may most tend to the stirring up of the grace of God, exercise for mortifying of corruptions, and preserving themselves and others from snares and temptations.

13. If contention or debates be like to arise, anent any subject they confer about, it is dangerous to insist; but it is the best godly prudence to break off abruptly, and go to prayer again.

14. That when any member of a society is overtaken in a fault, and it was scandalous; and if it be notour to all, he is to be applied to by any of the rest, who know the offence best and are most intimate with him, and shall sharply be reproved, suitably to the offence given: yet still observing that good rule given, Gal. vi. 1, 'If any man be overtaken in a 'fault, ye who are spiritual restore him in the spirit 'of meekness.' But, lest his being allowed to continue in the meeting should be constructed a connivance with his scandal, he is to be soberly advised by one sent from the rest to forbear frequenting of their meeting for some time, till at least he be cleared and the scandal removed.

15. If any difference fall betwixt any members of the society, let some of the most prudent and

judicious be appointed to deal betwixt them, in order to a reconciliation in private. But, if they prove unsuccesful in that attempt and cannot prevail, then let the matter be brought before the meeting and there soberly and calmly reasoned. And if he, who shall be judged by all the rest to be in the wrong, will not comply with what is agreed unto by the meeting, he is to be desired to forbear frequenting their meeting, till some other course be taken, in order to the removing of the difference.

16. That altho' every one is to keep within his station, and not to meddle with that which is the proper work of ministers or magistrates; yet it is the duty of every member to be valiant for the Lord, especially now, in a time when Satan and his instruments are so bold in supporting the kingdom of darkness, and they are, as they have occasion, faithfully, yet meekly, to reprove sin and faults in all, both small and great (as far as it is consistent with Christian prudence). And if their reproof have no effect towards the reforming the offender, then they are to endeavour the suppressing of immorality in a legal way, by applying to those that are in authority, by getting the laws, whether ecclesiastick or civil, put in execution against those that are obstinate and contumacious, without any respect of persons herein.

17. And because it is expected that those who profess more than others should do more than others, therefore it is the unquestionable duty of every member of such societies, as they would not throw

down with the one hand what they endeavour to build with the other, to study in all places and cases, and on all occasions, to have their conversations suitable to the gospel and agreeable to their profession, that they may thereby recommend the way of God to such with whom they converse, and discourage and disgrace profaneness and vice; and particularly, let them guard against idle discourse, Colos. iv. 6, which is very stumbling and hardning to the wicked, and tends very much to the eating out of the life of religion. And, when any member is reproved seasonably by another, for any fault he may be guilty of, it is certainly his duty to take the reproof kindly off his brother's hand, according to the practice of the Psalmist, Psal. cxli. 5, 'Let the 'righteous smite me,' etc.

18. Altho' such meetings cannot be hid, yet every member should labour to wait upon them in such a way as may be most free of ostentation as is possible, that there may be no just ground for any to say we perform these duties to be seen of men; especially considering the bad temper of wicked and carnal men, who look upon all the performances and actions of the people of God, for God and his interest, to be nothing but acts of hypocrisy.

19. That all who join in such societies beware of divulging or discovering any thing said or done in the society, to the offence or prejudice of any member of the society, and that none be admitted as members with whom they dare not or cannot freely converse; and they being all members of the same

mystical body, therefore they ought kindly to sympathize one with another, Eph. iv. 12; Rom. xii. 15, 16.

20. Let every meeting be begun and closed by singing a verse or more of a Psalm, if the place be convenient, and, at every meeting, let as many pray as conveniently can, and let every one take his turn in prayer without refusing, except there be an urgent reason, which he is to satisfy the meeting about.

21. Every member ought to make conscience of attending all the diets of the society, and the hour of meeting as precisely as possible, otherwise they may discourage the rest and occasion the dissolving of the meeting, as sad experience has too often evidenced.

22. If any come not at the hour, miss a day or more, or stay away all the time of the meeting, they are to satisfy the rest of the reason thereof, as it may appear to all, that it is not a wilful neglect or slighting the duty: but if any be found wilfully to neglect, they are to be spoken to by some sent from the meeting, who are most intimate with them; and, if they will not amend or return after several admonitions, let them desist. Neither are they afterwards, even upon their own desire, to be admitted to join, till they give evidences that they are heartily sorry for the offence they have given by their wilful neglect. To which is added the two following:

23. As it is the undoubted duty of all to pray for the coming of Christ's kingdom, so all that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and know what it is to bow a knee in good earnest, will long and pray

for the out-making of the gospel-promises to his Church in the latter days, that King Christ would go out upon the white horse of the gospel, conquering and to conquer, and make a conquest of the travail of his soul, that it may be sounded that the kingdoms of the world are become his, and his name called upon from the rising of the sun to its going down. (1) That the old offcasten Israel for unbelief would never be forgotten, especially in these meetings, that the promised day of their ingraffing again by faith may be hastned; and that dead weight of blood removed off them, that their fathers took upon them and upon their children, that have sunk them down to hell upwards of seventeen hundred years. (2) That the Lord's written and preached word [may be sent] with power, to enlighten the poor Pagan world, living in black perishing darkness without Christ and the knowledge of his name.[26] (3) That the damnable delusions of Mahomet, and errors of Antichrist, Arian, Arminian, Socinian and Quakers, may be discovered; that the blind may no more lead the blind, and go to hell wholesale, living and dying so; and the many gross errors abounding among many other sectaries may come to light. (4) [That] where the light of his written and preached word is, many may be enlightned thereby, especially in Scotland where they are members; and mourn and lament that there is so much of the world perishing without the gospel, and innumerable multitudes perishing under the gospel. Gospel-vengeance is manifold vengeance.

24. But more especially, they would love, sympathize, and pray for one another in secret, and in their families who have them, and weep when any member weeps, and rejoice with all such as are joined in this society-communion, which is the strictest of all communions; and, before they go to their meetings, every one would be importunate with the Lord to go with them and meet with them, that it may be for the better and not for the worse, and with all such meetings. And when at any time the Lord in his sovereignty, who manifests himself to whom he will, when, where, and as he will, is pleased to hide and withhold the influences of his Good Spirit, so as that there is a darkness in their minds, and deadness upon their spirits, that the duty of prayer and conference is unrefreshful and unsavoury to them; let every one make earnest in searching to find out the causes; be humble and mourn, long and pray for his return: and when at other times the Lord is pleased to manifest himself to give them light, life and liberty, to pour out their hearts before him, and the duties of prayer and conference are refreshful and reviving to them, and they feel any thing of the gladness of heart that the disciples had when they saw the Lord; then let them be humble, and express their great thankfulness, and bless his gracious name for the same, and pray for the continuance of it, and still to steer a steddy course at all times, places, cases and company, abounding in all the duties of Christianity, that all may take notice that they have been with Jesus.

Lastly, let all the foregoing rules be carefully observed and practised by all concerned.

The foregoing relation of singular worthy Mr. Smith's twenty-two steps of thirty years' national defections, does evidence that he was endowed with a good understanding of the times, a sound judgment in Presbyterian principles and steps of our covenanted Reformation, our backslidings and turnings aside therefrom, both to left and right-hand; his twenty-two rules for managing society-meetings, his dying words, and the following letter, do witness that he had also great experience in the serious exercises and solid practice of godliness, and that he was able to speak and write a seasonable word to serious exercised souls: whereof this Christian, Janet Fimerton, was singular, whose doubts and fears he answers distinctly as to the full assurance of an interest in Christ. She was not only my acquaintance, but fellow-prisoner both in Edinburgh and Dunnotar Castles.[27] She was about fifty years of age, never married. She spent much of her time in visiting prisoners and sufferers, doing good to them and for them, especially on the murdering bloody days of their deaths, going amongst friends, getting coffins and winding-sheets, and managing of their headless and handless bloody corpses, many of them being hash'd and hagged off. Accordingly Robert Semple my acquaintance, who was born and lived in that suffering family of Craigthorn, in the parish of Stones[28] in Clydsdale, whose father was killed at Pentland-hills;

and, among many other pieces of great sufferings, his mother and sister Jean were prisoners in Dunnotar; he was taken in November 1684, the two slaughter-years of Killing-time being begun in the 15 day of August before, when Thomas Erkness within 30 years of age, Andrew Clark nineteen years, Samuel M'Euen seventeen, without any indictment, got sentence of death passed upon them at twelve a-clock, and execute at three in the Grass-Market;[29] but a more full account of them afterwards, if the Lord will, [I] being in the Canongate iron-house with them the three days that they were in Edinburgh. The said Robert Semple was brought to Hamilton; Duke William examined him, charging him with being a troubler of the country; to which he answered, that he could give no suitabler answer than what Elijah gave to Ahab, 'That he and his 'father's house had been the troublers of our Israel.'[30] The duke thought upon this after. Possibly this answer brought him in mind of what active hand he had in that persecution, and what trouble his father-in-law[31] bred in our Israel in the year 1648, for which he lost his head in England. He sent for the dean of that place, and enquired at him where he would find that place of Scripture. The baptiz'd brute[32] could not tell him; at which he was offended, and said, 'What a base, naughty set of people are 'all of you, for all the encouragement you have! If 'I had enquired at the country fellow, his answer 'would have been ready.' After this, Robert, with Gabriel Semple, aged 18 years, who escaped out of

the Canongate iron-house upon the nineteenth day of August before, to which I was a witness, and John Watt, were quickly sent to Edinburgh, [and] carried straight before the Council. After examination, about eleven of the clock, Robert Semple was squeezed in the thumbikins, to the frightful crushing of the bones of his thumbs, who lay in that tormenting torture above five hours, which length of time exceeded all of the many that they had tormented in these hellish engines of boots and thumbikins. After four a-clock they conveened and passed doom upon all the three, without any indictment; then they sent them down to the Gallow-lee when it was dark, and suddenly execute them. After the bloody rope was about John Watt's neck, having no more need of the Bible, he threw it down, saying, 'Give 'that to my brother.' A woman yet alive, my near neighbour, kept it in her hands. One of the town-officers threw it from her, and gave it to curst Peter Graham, captain of the town-guard, that son of Belial. He cried, 'Where is the woman that 'owns this Bible?' Janet Fimerton said, 'I own it 'to give it to his brother.' Graham said, 'Secure her.' At the same time he inclosed many people; and all who would not swear that these men justly deserved to die were made prisoners; which many women refused. He marched quickly with them to the town Tolbooth, and left the hangman to cut them [*i.e.* the corpses] down, and the town-officers to be his guard. When cut down, he was going to strip them of their clothes; the colegioners sent him and town-

officers off in great haste. About 12 friendly women, waiting on to see the end, gathered about them, who had coffins and linen to order their corpses; but, being very dark, they laid them in their coffins with their clothes, and rolled their plaids for hand-spakes; came up Leith-Wynd, and down St. Mary's Wynd, and up the Cowgate to the Grayfriars gate, (about a mile.) The town-guard got orders to take the corpses from them. The noise rose; they let the corpses fall, and fled for their lives. The[y] kept guard upon them all night; the next morning trailed them down on sleds, and buried them at the gallows' foot.[33] The said Janet and most of these women were taken that night, and kept in prison until the 18th day of May 1685, that they, with many others, both men and women, were gathered from several prisons through the land, and sent to Dunnotar Castle, 68 miles from Edinburgh, where they lay in great distress, until the 18th day of August next; then brought back to Leith, and sentence of banishment passed upon a hundred of them to New-Jersey, whereof twenty four were women, without any libel, whereof the said Janet was one.[34] Assoon as they went a ship-board, she said, 'Farewel, bloody sinful Scotland, I will never 'come back to thee again; the sea-billows will be 'my winding-sheet. The purchased and promised 'blessings of the Lord, and mine, be multiplied 'upon the poor suffering remnant, the excellent 'ones, in whom I have had all my delight and 'pleasures on earth.' Which came to pass, that she

and many others died by the way. Pitlochie, a professing laird in Fife, got a gift of them from the bloody Council, to carry them there to be his slaves; but, behold, he and his whole family, except his eldest daughter, died by the way.[35]

However many of all ranks, and formed divided parties both left and right-hand, have maliciously, and many ignorantly, reflected upon all that I have formerly publish'd, and may likewise do upon this parcel, and what I further intend; yet I am very easy, and not careful to answer or satisfy them in these things, tho' I am desirous to meet with the person or persons that will instruct a mistake in matter of fact in these national concerns of tyranny and defections left or right-hand, or passages in the lives and deaths of our worthies. I do not undertake every circumstance at this long distance of time; for as that is a pain for me to pass by, when they ly in my way, any of the innumerable unheard-of steps of tyranny in that time, and defections left and right-hand then and now, from the sworn-to and sealed testimony of this church, but to transmit a tearful remembrance of them to the up-rising and following ages, that they may see and read what came to pass in Scotland in the days of their fathers; so it is also a pleasure, and that wherein my soul takes great delight, to hand down a savoury remembrance of the signal manifestations of the Lord's faithfulness and all-sufficiency to the souls of his people in his ordinances and providences, and to insert the names of these to whom the Lord was very gracious, and

helped and honoured to steer a steddy course, equally guarding against left-hand defections and right-hand extremes in their life, and faithful unto the death; that it may be great encouragement to all that follow their steps, and walk in the troden paths that they have chalked out for us, especially now when out of mind, and their earnest contendings, sufferings and grounds thereof, set at nought by the greater part, and blotted and bluthered by all the foresaid divided parties and separatists.

Follows the copy of a letter by godly Mr. Walter Smith, from Utrecht in Holland, November 12, 1679, in answer to a line from Janet Fimerton in Edinburgh, who was esteemed a singular Christian, of deep exercises, high attainments, and great experience in the serious exercise and solid practice of godliness: and as his answers were edifying to her, when under a cloud, so I judge may be of use to others, when crying out of the like deeps, which induced me to publish it.

Dear Friend,—I am glad to hear of your good success in learning to write, imployed for the Lord. I read your line without any difficulty, but there are many at your hand to give you good counsel, but especially in the family where you are. They are persons whom I judge fitted of the Lord to be helpful to any in your case, or I know none in the world; but, at your desire, I shall express my feckless

thoughts concerning your case. And (1st) where you say your heart is sore, because you know not if you have rightly closed with Christ. O that these sweet days might come, wherein I might see and hear many so exercised! But, for your clearing, consider that there is a difference betwixt sanctification and justification. I will be far from putting you from that duty of crying to get your will truly renewed, as you say; but I am apt to think that it is a further degree of sanctification you would be at. But (2dly) you say you think you have not fled out of yourself to Christ for righteousness. A mistake here, I confess, is of greater consequence than all that is in the world besides, and therefore we are bidden make our calling and election sure; but I hope your mistake is not of the worst sort. For some take presumption and self-confidence for real faith; but others, that have indeed laid hold on that everlasting rock, our blessed Lord Jesus, for life and salvation, cannot be perswaded that they have so done, they would so fain be sure. And here also Satan strikes in, to fill the soul with anxiety, to divert from necessary duties, and to rob us of our comfortable rejoicing that we should have in entertaining the faith of our Lord's appearance. But (3dly) what would you do if you had assurance that you had fled to him for righteousness? etc. Would you not look to him, and wait upon him, for both justification and sanctification of mere mercy? And would you not study to be in a continual dependence upon him, and acknowledge his justice tho'

he should thrust you down to the pit? Well, then, do so now, and your salvation is sure, whether Christ give you his backbond or no. But (4thly) if you will consider, hath not the Lord sometimes so framed your heart, so as he, and he only, hath been highest in your soul's esteem, and that it was for himself you took him for your only king, head and husband; and did you not vow and give away yourself to him as such, and so did abominate Satan, self, and their accomplices? Well then, 'As 'you have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk 'ye in him.' But (5thly) ask your heart, whether you have any righteousness by nature, or by your life in his sight, when, tho' you were righteous, you could not profit him. If not, then ask (6thly) whether or no you be willing to [be] made beautiful through his comliness only. Well then, if you be so, I know well he is, and it is he only that makes you so; come away then, and the bargain is sure. But (7thly) will you not be content, if he for holy and wise ends carry you through without assurance? I do not mean that you should faint or grow slack in seeking after it, but a holy submission is all that I would be at. But I say no more as to this; I refer you, and what I have said, to my faithful and dear friends, particularly these three with whom you are. Let holiness, prayer and supplication, charity, zeal and love possess your heart. As to you hearing, I hope the burnt bairn will be so wise as to fear the fire. The casting off all ministers is both sinful and dangerous, and hath had and will have bad and sad

effects and consequences in Scotland. The Lord is arising, yea coming; let us cry and fast, and watch strictly, and mourn over the desolations of the land, and the sad breaches he has made among us. Cry without ceasing, never give him rest, till he arise and be merciful to his land and people, and favour the lot of his inheritance. Burden me with letters, and excuse me tho' I get them not all answered. The Lord hath put a price in my hand, and I am sometimes busy. We have very few friends here, but we are very well seen to. But, O pray, pray much for us; for a wrong cast is soon gotten, but not so easily cast off.—I am your friend in the Lord, WALTER SMITH.

POSTSCRIPT: [JOHN SEMPLE]

HAVING formerly earnestly requested all the Lord's people, that what remarkable passages in the lives and deaths of these worthies, Semple, Peden, Welwood, Cameron, had escaped me, or not surely informed of, that they would send distinct accounts of the same; and I promised they should be carefully transmitted accordingly. The following accounts are come to my hand by word and writ since:—

As, 1. The foresaid John Semple, minister in Carsfairn, who always spent much of his time in prayer, especially about the unhappy restoration of Charles II., said to several friends that he could make nothing of him; but was perswaded that he will be a sad mortal enemy to Christ's interest and people in this land. 2. One day, as he came in to the kirk, he found many sleeping; when he entred the pulpit, he cried with a great shout, 'And is the 'devil come here before me?' Whereby all were awakned, thinking truly he had seen the devil, and slept no more that day. 3. At another time, preaching in a neighbouring kirk, seeing the people gazing on him, [he] said, 'Sirs, look not on me, but come had 'up your toom dish with mine to the Lord, that

'they may be filled.' When under his hiding, after the Restoration, one night lying in a bed with another minister, the backside of the bed where he lay fell down to the ground; the enemies came and carried away that minister prisoner, but found not John, which was a very remarkable providence, his time of falling into their hands not being yet come.

2dly, In the year 1682, Mr. Peden preaching in Douglas town-head, in that good family of children, Gavin, James, Archibald, and Jean Wilsons, being all my acquaintance, especially James, of whom I frequently spoke of; before he began, he gave some stedfast frowning looks to a woman, as his ordinary was upon unhappy persons, and said to Gavin, 'Cause your servants put out that woman with the 'pirnie plaid; I will not begin while she is here, for 'she is a witch'; of which she gave holding presumptions afterwards. 2. About the same time, wading Douglas-water very deep, [he] came to a house there; the goodwife of the house insisted (as most part of women do not keep a bridle-hand) in chiding of him; which made him to fret, and said, 'I wonder 'that your tongue is not sore with so much idle 'clatter.' She said, 'I never had a sore tongue nor 'mouth all my days.' He said, 'It will not be long 'so.' Accordingly her tongue and gooms swelled so that she could get no meat taken for some days. 3. A gentleman born in Ireland writes to me that he frequently heard his father and mother give an account: In the year 1685, a little before Mr. Peden came last out of Ireland, they heard him preach,

as frequently they did, in the house of David Reid in Glenwharrie. In his sermon, he said that Ireland's trouble would not continue 25 years, as poor Scotland's had done; that it would come in a moonlight night, that would put all Ireland in a gast. Accordingly, that night the Irish Papists began their massacre, it was a very bright moonlight. When praying, he said, 'The Lord rebuke thee, Joseph 'Mitchelson, that thirsts and hunts for my life and 'blood, as a scent-dog does for birds; but God shall 'stop thee of thy designs, and smite thee at such a 'time and way, when thou art not aware, and make 'a miserable end, that thou shalt never overtake me.' That Joseph Mitchelson had got a commission to make search and apprehend Mr. Peden, and send him over to Scotland to get him cut off; accordingly that same night he was in search for him, and by the way fell o'er a brae, that disabled him so that he never travelled more, but died in a most miserable condition, eaten up of vermine. And since, an old man come from Ireland, and who knew Mr. Peden and Mitchelson both, confirmed the same.

4. Immediately after this, he came to Scotland, of which formerly I gave an account,[36] being Killing-time, 1685. The enemies came upon a house, where he was, suddenly and surprisingly; which was not his ordinary, but to get, take, and give warning to others. The goodwife of the house would not suffer him to stay within the house. He said there might be safety within it but none to go out. She said, come of him what would, he should not stay within.

One man being with him, they ran in to the byre, where they found a heap of cast-by foul fodder in the nook thereof, under which they crept. The enemies stobbed the beds with swords, searcht barn and byre, but touched not the place where they lay. He was kept in dark and doubts, whether safety or present death, with more than ordinary fear upon him until the morning; then quietly said, 'Now, let 'them range and search as much and as long as they 'please, they shall not touch us.' They lay until the morning-light, that the enemies marcht, and then took their way. A minister gives this relation, who had it from that man's mouth who was with him.

5. Some time after he came last from Ireland, he came to his old parish at Glenluce, to whom he still owned a relation, and had a concern and sympathy above all other parishes, and prayed for them when in Ireland, altho' he never entred that pulpit from the time that he laid an arrestment upon it;[37] accordingly he, and some of his old elders and other friendly parishoners, appointed a fast in that parish, it being Killing-time. When the day came, he and some other friends going to the place, going by Drumpale, the family thereof being busy working amongst hay, he said, 'That man and his family have no 'spare time to join with us, in mourning over the 'dreadful things in this time; but, in a little time, 'there shall dreadful sins fall out in that family, 'which shall make him and his family contemptible.' Accordingly it came to pass, he fell in adultery,

and the mother thereof murdered that child, which ruined him and his family. I had this account in writ from an old man who lives in Glenluce, and affirms that there are other old people alive in that bounds, who can assert the truth of this passage.

6. A Christian friend, many miles distant, writes to me, that he was surely informed, that Mr. Peden one Sabbath-day was to preach in Carrick, in the parish of Ballatree four miles from the town. The tent was set up upon Kennedy the laird of Glenour's ground; but altho' he was a great professor, [he] would not let it stand upon his ground, possibly for fear of the 500 merks of fine upon all on whose ground the rendezvouz of rebellion, the field-conventicles, was found, wickedly so called in those days by the Popish, Prelatical, and malignant faction.[38] The tent was lifted over a water, and set upon Kennedy laird of Kirkhill's ground, who hindred them not. In preface, Mr. Peden said, 'The laird 'who would not suffer a bit of God's ground to 'preach Christ's gospel upon, his thriving days were 'done. Three things should befal him: 1. His in-'heritance should vomit out his name. 2. His 'house should stand desolate. 3. And his offspring 'come to poverty. And the laird upon whose ground 'I now stand, he and his shall increase in riches and 'honour.' All which is exactly come to pass, to the observation of many: for there is one Fergusson that possesses Glenour's lairdship, and his house standing without roof, and many know his children are come to very great poverty; and Kirkhill's

grandson is now a baron, and his rent a year is about 10,000 merks, which was then about 2000.

3dly, An old Christian sufferer, yet alive in the parish of Orr in Galloway, writes to me that, in the year 1677, he heard Mr. John Welwood preach in the south, near the Border. A gentleman came four or five miles to stop him from preaching on his ground. Mr. Welwood was begun ere he came; Mr. Welwood had sung in the 24 Psalm, 'The 'earth 's the Lord's, and the fulness thereof': and, prefacing upon the same, as their ordinary then was, said, 'Tho' the earth be the Lord's, and the fulness 'thereof, etc., yet the poor fools of the world will 'not allow a bit of his earth to preach his gospel 'upon.' The gentleman standing at the side of the people, going to discharge him from preaching upon his ground, these words so pierced him that he sat down and heard him through the day, went home, and set up the worship of God in his family, and very shortly thereafter joined himself in a society-meeting, where my informer was present, and thereafter became a sufferer himself, but not unto death.

4thly, I gave an account formerly, that Mr. Cameron was in Holland in the time of Bothwel, June 22, 1679, and that shortly thereafter he was ordained; and what the clear long-sighted M'Ward said when his hand was upon his head,[39] and that he came to Scotland in the end of 1679.[40] Another old Christian sufferer told me that he married him a little after he came home. After he had spent some time in going from minister to minister, of

these who formerly displayed the publick standard of the gospel, as blest M'Ward advised him; but could prevail with none, except blest Cargill and Mr. Douglas; in the beginning of the year 1680, he went to the west; and tho' they had wanted the publick preached gospel only about six months, for some time could get none to call him to preach publickly, he turned very melancholy. The laird of Logan of that ilk, in the parish of Cumnock (esteemed by all for a good man), and the laird of Horsecleugh represented him as a Jesuite, and naughty person. At length some of the Lord's people, who had retained their former zeal and faithfulness, called him to preach the word in the same parish. When he began, he exhorted the people to mind that they were in the sight and presence of a holy God, and that all of them were hastning to an endless state, either of well or wo, and that there was no mids. One Andrew Dalziel a debauchee (a cocker or fowler) being in the house, it being a stormy day, cried out, 'Sir, we neither know you nor your God.' Mr. Cameron musing a little, said, 'Ye, and all that do 'not know my God in his mercy, shall know him 'in his judgments, which shall be sudden and 'surprising in a few days upon you, which shall 'make you a terror to yourself, and all that shall 'be witness to your death; and I, as a sent servant 'of Jesus Christ, whose commission I bear, and 'whose badge or blaze is upon my breast, give you 'warning, and leave you to the justice of God.' Accordingly, in a few days thereafter, the foresaid

Andrew, being in perfect health, took his breakfast plentifully, and, before he arose, fell a vomiting, and vomit his heart's blood in the very vessel out of which he got his breakfast, and died in a frightful manner. This astonishing passage, together with the power and presence of the Lord going along with the gospel-ordinances dispensed by him in that six months before his bloody death, wherein he ran fast, his time being short, he was taught and helped of the Lord to let down the net at the right side of the ship,[41] where there was in every publick day many catcht, to their conviction, conversion, confirmation, comfort and edification, according as their various cases were. Our martyrs, sufferers, and other Christians had to tell to the fearers of the Lord, what he did for their souls at such times and places, both in their life and at their bloody deaths; these signal manifestations of the Lord's love and pity in these sun-blink days of the gospel, not only of clear enlightning light, but also of the vehement heat, to thaw, warm and melt their hearts in such a flame of love to the Lord Jesus Christ, and such a zeal upon their spirits for the concerns of his glory, that made them willing and ready to spend and be spent and rejoice that they were counted worthy to die for the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; which deserves to be recorded to all generations. The report of these strange things occasioned calls to come to him for dispensing of publick gospel-ordinances, from all corners in the south and west of Scotland; and made the lairds of Logan and Horsecleugh (who had

vented themselves against him in a strange way, disswading all from countenancing him any manner of way) to desire a conference with him, which he willingly granted; where and when they had a very friendly conference, which obliged them to say that they had been far in the wrong to him, and requested him to forgive them. He said from his heart he forgave them for what wrongs they had done to him; but, for what wrongs they had done to the interest of Christ, it was not his part, but was perswaded they would be remarkably punished for it. He rebuked Logan, and said, 'Your family shall be 'written childless'; which is now more and more taken notice of by many, tho' 50 years since it was foretold, that none of his offspring have children. And that reproof to Horsecleugh, that he should suffer by burning, which shortly thereafter was seen by many upon his house. I wrote these foregoing accounts, since the publishing of *Cameron's Life*, from the mouth of an old Christian sufferer, whom I have not seen these 40 years before, who was ear and eye-witness to all of them, and much more, in that time. Also another old sufferer told me that he heard him preach at the Hynd-bottom, near Crawford-john, eleven days before his bloody death (and many of our old sufferers told me the same; but it escaped me formerly in the writing of the passages of his life and death) upon that text, 'You will not 'come to me, that you may have life.'[42] In the time of that sermon, he fell in such a rap of calm weeping, and the greater part of that multitude, that there

was scarce a dry cheek to be seen among them; which obliged him to halt and pray, where he continued long praying for the Jews' restoration and ingraffing again, and for the fall of Antichrist, and that the Lord would hasten the day, that he was sure was coming, that he would sweep the throne of Britain of that unhappy race of Stuarts. I am further surely informed, that in that bloody day of his death, when that worthy valiant gentleman David Hackston of Rathillet, and William Manual, were taken and deadly wounded, with John Pollock at Airdsmoss, that they stript them of their shoes and most of their clothes, and travelled forty miles upon bare horse-backs. They had Mr. Cameron and John Fuller's heads and hands in a sack. When they came to Lanark, they carried them into the house of John Arcle, and enquired at his wife, Elisabeth Hope, if she would buy calves' heads. They shook them out of the sack, and drave them up and down the house like foot-balls with their feet.[48] At the sight of these bloody heads she fainted. They cried, 'Take up the old damn'd Whig-bitch.' Also another old sufferer, my intimate acquaintance upwards of forty years, who had the experience both of imprisonment and banishment, told me that he was at the water-gate at the foot of the Canongate, when the enemies came there with these prisoners, heads and hands; that he saw them take Mr. Cameron's head out of the sack; he knew it, being formerly his hearer, a man of a fair complexion, with his own hair, and his face very little altered;

and [they] put the point of a halbert in his blessed mouth, out of which had proceeded many gracious words, and turned Rathillet upon the horse, and tied a gade of iron upon William Manual and John Pollock's necks, and tied the rope to Rathillet's horse tail, the hangman leading the horse with one hand, and holding up the halbert with Mr. Cameron's head upon it with the other hand, up the street to the Town Tolbooth of Edinburgh, crying, 'There 's 'the heads and hands of traitors, rebels.'[44] As I said before,[45] William Manual died of his wounds entring the Tolbooth, John Pollock was thereafter banished; these heads and hands were fixt upon the Netherbow-port, David Hackston cruelly murdered at the Cross of Edinburgh, and his body divided in quarters, and fixt upon sundry parts, in an unheard-of manner.

Formerly I gave an account[46] what hand Sir John Cochran of Ochiltree had in shedding that great gush of innocent precious dear blood of Mr. Cameron, and these with him at Airdsmoss, July 22, 1680, by sending letters to wicked cursed Bruce of Earlshall that violent persecutor, where Mr. Cameron, and about sixty men with him, was to be found; for which it was and is said by many, and asserted by some, that Earlshall got five hundred pounds sterling, and Ochiltree ten thousand merks, the price of blood. Sometime thereafter the house of Ochiltree was burnt about two of the clock in the afternoon: some said, by the juice of meat; however, some which were present told me that it went so hastily into such a flame, that there was no way of saving

any thing that was in it, no not so much as his charters and silver-plate. The castle is standing unbuilt as a witness to this day. In the time of its burning, his son said to his father, 'This is the 'vengeance of Cameron's blood come upon this 'house.' And in that very morning, about the break of day, twelve men going for lime saw a bloody fire in form of a pillar hanging above that house, as they apprehended, two yards of length and one in breadth, which affrighted them; at length, they said one to another, 'Yon 's Cameron's blood, and these 'with him, crying for vengeance upon that house, 'which will fall down suddenly upon it.'

Lastly, Formerly, when I gave an account of our merciful Revolution-dispensation, when we had both mercy and judgment to sing of, and what grievances were in the State, but far more and greater in the Church, of whom, and when, better things might have been expected; there was one great grievous grievance in the Church that escaped me in the time of the first General Assembly, the 16 October 1690, when Mr. Shiels, Linnen, and these of us, commissioners sent from the United Societies to represent our grievances, and no answer given, but frowns for the same.[47] When with great difficulties we got them presented, the curates had free access to present their naughty papers; some hundreds of them about that time [being] taken in to the bosom of the Church, the serpent's brood, that had almost stung us unto death. Here this Church split twice upon one rock. At the 1638, there was not a bone of

them, that would subject themselves to Presbytery, that was refused. This sadly appeared, when there was such a swarm of the plagued Publick Resolution[er]s betwixt the 1650 and 1660; and after the Restoration, when six hundred of them went back to their old unclean bed. They had not King William to blame for this; he allowed all the erroneous, scandalous, insufficient and negligent to be kept out;[48] which four, if they had retained so much zeal and faithfulness, to have searched these to the bottom, would have barred the door upon all of them; beside the scandal of scandals of perjured and abjured Prelacy, which now is become a matter of indifferency amongst the greater part, whether Presbytery or Prelacy, if they have the name of Protestants; which is a direct breach of the sixth article of our Solemn League and Covenant. It is not to be forgotten what the godly, zealous, and faithful unto the death, Mr. William Guthry, minister in Fenwick, said in a publick sermon, three years after the Restoration, that the Lord would turn back our captivity, and that we would get day about with them. Proposing so many questions, how this and the other thing would be, then said, 'And what 'will become of all these turncoat upstart curates? 'What will become of them?' said he, 'they will 'repent, and get kirks again. We wish them 'repentance and forgiveness, tho' we fear the world 'will never be deaved with the noise of it. But, 'let them repent as they will, their feet should never 'file pulpits again.'

I must again renew my former request, to all into whose hands this may fall, that what further edifying passages in the lives and deaths of the foresaid worthies, viz. Semple, Peden, Welwood, Cameron, Cargill and Smith, which have escaped me, and not surely informed of, and which are not insert; I hope they will send distinct accounts of the same to me. And I again promise they shall be carefully transmitted.

FINIS

NOTES TO PEDEN'S LIFE

P. 6, *n.* 1. The first edition of 'The Fulfilling of the Scripture' was printed in 1669, and the second edition, 'corrected and enlarged,' in 1671. Both were issued anonymously, and without a printer's name or place of publication. In 1674 there was published in London 'The Faithfulness of God . . . or a second part of the Fulfilling of the Scripture.' No author's name was given. In 1678 another work appeared without author's name, printer's name, or place of publication. Its title is—'Scripture Truth confirmed and cleared by some great appearances of God for His Church under the New Testament.' This last was commonly called the third part of 'The Fulfilling of the Scripture.' According to Patrick Walker (*supra*, i. 166), all the parts were written by John Livingstone of Ancrum, and not by Robert Fleming.

P. 7, *n.* 2. When Patrick says, 'But there were other three times that escaped me then,' he means that they escaped his memory when he wrote his first edition in 1724. The extra matter was introduced in 1727 in his 'Vindication of Cameron's Name' (*supra*, i. 345, 346), and reproduced almost *verbatim* in this 1728 edition of Peden's Life.

P. 7, *n.* 3. The text of this Toleration is in Wodrow's *History*, iv. 426, 427.

P. 9, *n.* 4. In 1736 the first Seceders thus expressed themselves:—'Among the more immediate, bitter, and sinful fruits of the foresaid incorporating Union, the whole nation was made to grone under the weight of unnecessary, superfluous, and sinful oaths. . . . The Oath of Abjuration was imposed upon all persons in public trust, both civil and military; this oath was fram'd at first by the Parliament of England and calculated for the maintenance of their constitution both in Church and State, and as the Commission in their last-mentioned address observe, "It bears a reference to some Acts of the English Parliament, wherein are some qualifications required in the successor to the crown" (viz. that he should be of the communion of the Church of England, and shall maintain the Church of England as by law established), "which are not suitable to our principles." . . . The above-mentioned Oath of Abjuration . . . was now imposed upon the ministers of this Church, which, beside the

dismal effects it produc'd in renting and breaking the ministry among themselves, may be justly reckoned one of our publick national sins' (*Act, Declaration, and Testimony*, 1737, pp. 56-59). This Oath of Abjuration—abjuring the Pretender—must not be confounded with the earlier Oath of Abjuration abjuring the Society-People's *Apologetical Declaration.*

P. 10, *n.* 5. James Kirkton became minister of the second charge of Lanark in 1655, and was translated to Merton in 1657 (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 310). He was deprived in 1662, refused to accept the 'indulgence,' was captured in Edinburgh in 1676, was rescued, intercommuned, went to Holland, returned in 1687, was restored to Merton in 1690 (*Ibid.* i. 530), was admitted to the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh, in 1691, and died in 1699 (*Ibid.* i. 50). He is best known by his *History of Mr. John Welsh*, first published in 1703, and by his *Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland*, edited by C. K. Sharpe in 1817.

P. 10, *n.* 6. That is the first Assembly after the Revolution.

P. 13, *n.* 7. During the persecution James Webster was imprisoned more than once. In 1688 he was ordained to the congregation at Craigmillar, and was translated to Whitekirk in 1691 (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 116, 385). He was admitted to the second charge of the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh, in 1693, and died in 1720. According to Hew Scott, 'He was a fervent and pathetic preacher, extremely popular, and greatly lamented, but chiefly celebrated for the stand he made for purity of doctrine in the prosecution of Professor Simpson of Glasgow' (*Ibid.* i. 53). In 1715 the General Assembly appointed a committee, of thirty ministers and six elders, 'for preserving and maintaining the purity of the doctrine of the Church of Scotland, and for bringing the process, Mr. James Webster against Mr. John Simson, to an issue.' In 1717 the Assembly prohibited Simson to use expressions which might bear a bad sense, or to vent opinions or propositions not necessary to be taught in divinity. The second process against him came first before the Assembly in 1726, and concerned his opinions on the persons of the Trinity. In 1728 the Assembly suspended the professor 'from preaching and teaching and all exercise of any ecclesiastical power or function'; and in 1729 the Assembly ratified and confirmed that sentence, and gave it as their judgment, 'that it is not fit or safe that he be further employed in teaching divinity and instructing of youth designed for the holy ministry in this Church' (*Acts of Assembly*). From Patrick's numerous allusions it is evident that he was greatly interested in the Simson cases.

P. 13, *n.* 8. 'Mr. Andrew Cameron at Kirkcudbright' was one of the thirty ministerial members of the committee mentioned in the immediately preceding note as having been appointed in 1715.

P. 14, *n.* 9. The book referred to is *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*,

by Edward Fisher, of which Part I. was first printed in 1645. The sixth edition of that part and the first of Part II. were published in 1648.

P. 15, *n.* 10. The General Assembly, as Patrick points out (*supra*, i. 150), showed more vigour and zeal in condemning *The Marrow of Modern Divinity* than in dealing with Professor Simson. In 1720 it did 'strictly prohibit and discharge all the ministers of this Church, either by preaching, writing, or printing, to recommend the said book, or in discourse to say anything in favour of it; but, on the contrary,' enjoined them 'to warn and exhort their people, in whose hands the said book is, or may come, not to read or use the same' (*Acts of Assembly*). In 1721 twelve ministers (including Hog of Carnock, Boston of Ettrick, Ebenezer Erskine, Ralph Erskine, and Gabriel Wilson) sent in a 'Representation and Petition' to the General Assembly, craving that the Act condemning *The Marrow* might be repealed. Instead of granting the request, the Assembly, in 1722, appointed the moderator 'to rebuke and admonish' the representing brethren. On the same day that this decision was come to, eleven of the twelve brethren gave in a 'Protestation' to the Assembly, in which they declared that they still regarded the Act of 1720 as contrary to the Word of God and to the standards of the Church, and protesting that it would still be lawful for them to profess and teach the truth which had been so condemned. It was because of this 'Protestation' that they were called 'Protesters'; and it was because of the 'Representation and Petition' that, as Patrick mentions (*supra*, i. 150), they were called 'Representers.' Those who defended *The Marrow* were known as *Marrow-men*, its doctrine as *Marrow-doctrine*, and the controversy as the *Marrow-controversy*. Those who withdrew from the Church 'on account of her many gross and continued defections' were also known as Protesters. Their position may be gathered from a quarto vol. of 264 pp. entitled, *Protesters Vindicated*, which was printed in 1716. An answer in two parts, bearing the name of *Mene Tekel*, was printed at Dumfries in 1717.

P. 17, *n.* 11. Patrick Hamilton was burned at St. Andrews, on the 29th of February 1527-28. Katherine Hamilton's husband was Captain of Dunbar. Her reply to the accuser, as given by Patrick Walker, is evidently drawn, directly or indirectly, from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*.

P. 17, *n.* 12. Mr. John Young, some time colleague to Principal Baillie, 'ordinarily went under the style of the Maiden Midwife, being never ordained a minister.' He died a bishop-elect (*Life of James Wodrow*, 1828, p. 28).

P. 18, *n.* 13. In reply to this statement by Patrick, Andrew Harley thus retaliates:—'He speaks falsly, for there are not so many parties as he says, unless he count those who joyn with no body but live like lepers

put apart for uncleanness; but suppose it were so, it doth not at all weaken their testimony, since they all as one man agree in the matter tho' they differ in the manner and form and management; and it shews they are a set of honest persons, and will not connive at anything that they think evil in one another, and that they are not for making a party, and not like his juggling knaves' (*Letter* in *Biographia Presbyteriana*, 1827, i. 340).

P. 19, *n.* 14. A ballad written against Maitland of Lethington, and printed in 1570, contains the lines :—

> 'They say he can baith quhissill and cloik,
> And his mouth full of meill.'—(*Sempill Ballates*, 1872, p. 84.)

P. 20, *n.* 15. Patrick has given this quotation with wonderful precision.

P. 20, *n.* 16. The Union of the Parliaments in 1707, the Episcopal Toleration Act of 1712, and the Act of 1712 restoring patronage.

P. 22, *n.* 17. Samuel Rutherfurd, the minister of Anwoth, 'Christ's prisoner' at Aberdeen, professor at St. Andrews, author of *Lex Rex* and many other works, and the writer of the inimitable *Letters*.

P. 22, *n.* 18. David Dickson was minister of Irvine from 1618 to 1640 when he was translated to the Divinity Chair in Glasgow University (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 153). For a time he also held the collegiate charge in St. Mungo's, Glasgow (*Ibid.* ii. 8). He was translated to the second charge of the High Kirk, Edinburgh, and to the Divinity Chair in that University. He was twice moderator of the General Assembly, and was a leader of the Resolutioners. He was deprived in October 1662, and died in the following December (*Ibid.* i. 26, 27).

P. 22, *n.* 19. Stirred by the pressing dangers following Cromwell's victory at Dunbar, the Scottish Parliament, in December 1650, after obtaining the opinion of the Commissioners of the General Assembly, 'admitted manie, who were formerlie excluded, to be imployed in the armie' (*Acts of Parliament*, vol. vi. part ii. p. 620). Having again obtained the opinion of the Commission of Assembly, Parliament, in June 1651, rescinded the Acts of Classes passed in 1646 and 1649, by which certain classes of delinquents had been excluded from places of public trust (*Ibid.* pp. 676, 677). In spite of a protest, the Assembly ratified the proceedings of the Commission (*Nullity of the Pretended Assembly*, pp. 4, 5). Among the causes why the Lord contended with the land, the stricter party included 'the publick resolutions of Kirk and State for bringing in the Malignant party first to the army and then to the judicatories, and to the actual intrusting of them with the power of the kingdom both military and civil' (*Causes of the Lord's Wrath against Scotland*, 1653, p. 7). Those who supported the public resolutions were

known as *Resolutioners*; and those who opposed them, as *Protesters*. 'The great blemish of our Church,' says Kirkton, 'was the division betwixt Protesters and Publick Resolution-men (as they were called), but as this was inconsiderable upon the matter, so was it also pretty well composed by express agreement among brethren, even while the English continued our governours' (*Secret and True History*, p. 65).

P. 22, *n.* 20. The Act Rescissory was passed on the 28th of March 1661. By it 'the King's Majestie and Estates of Parliament' did 'rescind and annull the pretendit Parliaments keept in the yeers 1640, 1641, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647, and 1648, and all acts and deids past and done in them,' and declared 'the same to be henceforth voyd and null' (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vii. 87). In this sweeping Act, it is acknowledged that Charles the First 'was pleased in the yeer 1641 to come into this cuntrie, and, by his oune presence at thair pretendit Parliaments and otherwayes, to comply with and give way to many things.' The 'Act for the restitution and re-establishment of the antient Government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops' was passed on the 27th of May 1662 (*Ibid.* vii. 372-74).

P. 23, *n.* 21. The nature and conditions of the First Indulgence may be gathered from the king's letter of 7th June 1669 authorising it, which letter is printed in Brown's *History of the Indulgence*, 1678, pp. 4, 5, and in Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings*, 8vo ed., ii. 130, 131; the nature and conditions of the Second Indulgence, from the three Acts of Privy Council of 3rd September 1672 printed in Brown's *History of the Indulgence*, pp. 35-40, and in Wodrow's *History*, ii. 203-206.

P. 23, *n.* 22. Concerning the Third Indulgence see *supra*, i. 223; ii. 18; and *infra*, p. 162, *n.* 15.

P. 23, *n.* 23. All these worthies are frequently mentioned by Patrick. By 'Mr. Dickson' he does not mean David, previously referred to, but John Dickson, a Protester, who had been minister of Rutherglen before the Restoration, who was outed in 1662, who became a conventicle preacher, and who was sent to the Bass in 1680, where he was imprisoned about six years (*The Bass Rock*, 1848, pp. 314-347). 'Mr. John Dickson's Warning to the Professors of the Gospel in the Shire of Fife against Complyance with the Indulgence' was 'published from a true manuscript' in 1716.

P. 24, *n.* 24. Robert MacWard, who had been ordained to the collegiate charge of the Outer-High Church of Glasgow in 1656, gave offence in a sermon in February 1661 by humbly offering his dissent 'to all acts which are or shall be passed against the Covenants and work of reformation in Scotland,' and by protesting that he was 'desirous to be free of the guilt thereof' (Wodrow's *History*, i. 207). In the presence of Parlia-

ment in the following June he adhered to what he had said; but, sentence having been delayed, he so far resiled as to express his willingness to withdraw the words 'protest' and 'dissent,' and to use instead 'testifying,' solemn 'declaring,' and 'bearing witness.' He was banished (Wodrow's *History*, i. 208, 213, 214). The double defection of Sheilds was much more serious than that of MacWard. Its extent, and also his profound and openly expressed grief for it, may be seen in his own *True and Faithful Relation*, printed in 1715, and in the *Biographia Scoticana*, better known as *The Scots Worthies*.

P. 24, *n.* 25. Andrew Harley denied that the Dissenters held that every difference in judgment was a sufficient cause of separation (*Letter* in *Biographia Presbyteriana*, 1827, i. 346).

P. 24, *n.* 26. The three pamphlets so pitilessly condemned by Patrick are extremely rare. The full title of the first-named is learned from a reply issued by the United Societies, and printed in 1724: 'A Confutation of a Scandalous Pamphlet intituled *A Manifesto, or the Standard of the Church of Scotland.*' In the *Confutation* the *Manifesto* is described as a 'poor, pitiful, Erastian brat,' and the authorship is attributed to Peter Grant, who had four or five abettors, but fewer adherents, 'for some of these five are said to disown it.' In the *Confutation* it is also mentioned that the *Manifesto* was printed in 1723, and that the *Bond of Union*, printed in 1714, was likewise by Grant. Judging these two pamphlets by what is said of them in the *Confutation*, they must have been very wild—of the same nature as the better-known *Active Testimony*, printed in 1749. In Andrew Harley's opinion Renwick's way was more modest but less heroic and valiant than that of the *Manifesto*. He owns, however, that some thought it would have been better to have called 'The Standard of the States of Scotland' (*Letter* in *Biographia Presbyteriana*, 1827, i. 341, 346). The third pamphlet is referred to by Hay, as the *Grand Jugler Detected*, and he says that its author called the Patrick and asked him what he meant by 'enthusiasm,' but got no ain faction (*Ibid.* i. 339, 340). Perhaps Harley was the author. For in *Bond of Union*, see *infra*, pp. 167, 168.

P. 26, *n.* 27. Ebenezer Erskine relates that having read to his congregation a royal proclamation ordering a public thanksgiving to be held on the 22nd of April 1723, some of his elders and others came to him *intending* the English Kalendar in their hand' and showed him that the appointed day 'was St. Mark's day and the only feast day in the whole year.' They told him that if he kept the thanksgiving on that day then to the kirk and infallibly give offence, and occasion great disorders, in regard many would not attend worship but follow their ordinary business. He *against* summoned his kirk-session, and the difficulty was obviated by this means were

the thanksgiving on another day (Ebenezer Erskine's apologetical preface to *God's Little Remnant*, printed in 1725, and 'sold by Patrick Walker at his house within Bristo Port').

P. 27, *n.* 28. Andrew Harley heard that Patrick 'sat still at the table when some more honest people rose and gave testimony against such mocking of God' (*Letter* in *Biographia Presbyteriana*, 1827, i. 340). Patrick in reply denies that he had the occasion or temptation (*supra*, i. 174).

P. 28, *n.* 29. John Hepburn took the M.A. degree at Aberdeen in 1669, was ordained at London in 1678, admitted minister of Urr in 1689, tried before the Privy Council in 1696 for not taking the oaths to Government, suspended by the General Assembly in 1696, had that sentence taken off in 1699, suspended by the Commission of Assembly in 1704, deposed in 1705, reponed in 1707, and died in 1723. He raised a corps of volunteers against the Jacobites in 1715 and marched at their head (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 607, 608). He has been described as 'The Morning Star of the Secession.'

P. 29, *n.* 30. The interesting story of William Veitch has been well and widely known since Dr. M'Crie edited his *Memoirs* in 1825. The biographer of Knox does not appear to have known that these *Memoirs* had been printed fifty years before by John Howie, in the first edition of his *Biographia Scoticana*. In his second edition (1781) Howie reduced the *Memoir* from seventy-three pages to thirteen; and explained that some friends wished him to delete it altogether, as its subject's 'life and practice, especially since the Revolution, was not so consonant to the rest as could [illegible]e been wished.' The title of Veitch's pamphlet to which Patrick refers [illegible] 'A Short History of Rome's Designs against the Protestant Interest [illegible]ritain. With a Vindication of Mr. William Vetch . . . from what [illegible]ledged against him page 308, 309, of that Hebronitish book called [illegible]ble, but more truely, saucie, malicious and lying *Pleadings*: with [illegible] informations anent Mr. Hepburn. . . . Drumfries, Printed by [illegible]t Rae in the year MDCCXVIII.' In the preface to this pamphlet [illegible] speaks of himself as 'an old dying man.' Hepburn's reply to [illegible] Patrick refers is entitled—'True Copy of a Letter sent to the [illegible]nd Mr. William Veitch, minister at Dumfries, answering some [illegible]alumnies in his pamphlet. . . . With an advertisement con[illegible] these and some other late slanders. By Mr. John Hepburn [illegible] of the gospel at Orr in Galloway. . . . Printed in the year [illegible]. The above-mentioned pamphlet by Veitch was unknown to [illegible] was also 'A true Copy of the last Sermon preached July 1716 [illegible]illiam Veitch. . . . Edinburgh: printed in the year 1720.'

P. 24, [illegible] 31. The volume entitled *Humble Pleadings for the Good Old* [illegible]printed in 1713. The author is reported to have been Mr.

charge of [illegible]

sermon i[illegible]

which are [illegible]

tion in Sc[illegible]

the guilt t[illegible]

Gavin Mitchell (Wodrow's *Correspondence*, ii. 238). On the title-page it is said to have been 'collected and published by the foresaid people,' *i.e.* by the considerable body of people in the south and west of Scotland who adhered to Hepburn. In 1717, there was printed at Dumfries, 'An Answer to the first part of *Humble-Pleadings*, or a Vindication of the Church of Scotland from the Unjust Aspersions of Mr. Hepburn and his Party. . . . By a Well-Wisher of the Good-Old-Way.'

P. 31, *n.* 32. In 1715 the General Assembly referred to the Commission the consideration of the irregularities of John M'Millan, John Taylor, John M'Neil, John Adamson, John Hepburn, and James Gilchrist; and instructed the Commission to deal with the four first-named. The Presbytery of Dumfries was appointed to deal with Hepburn and Gilchrist. Both M'Millan and Taylor had already been deposed. The Commission was authorised, 'if need be, to apply to the civil government for suppressing the disorders' of all the six (*Acts of Assembly*, 1715, pp. 26, 27). In compliance with the 'unhallowed demands' of the Church, several of them were proclaimed rebels over the market-crosses by the civil magistrate; and the Presbytery of Dumfries deposed Gilchrist in 1716 (*Plain Reasons for Dissenting from the Revolution-Church in Scotland*, 1731, pp. 51, 52). It appears that on one occasion the Robert Paton, minister of Dumfries, mentioned by Patrick, did, 'in great rage and fury,' as moderator of Synod, call for a magistrate 'to incarcerat Mr. Gilchrist,' and, when that failed him, commanded the beadle to thrust him by the shoulders out of the church, for insisting that his reasons for refusing to act as a member of Synod should be read and recorded. Several members of Presbytery, including William Veitch, pleaded against his deposition. His congregation was greatly attached to him. Accordingly the heritors, elders, and parishioners of Dunscore requested Hepburn, Taylor, and two elders to 'constitute themselves into a presbytery, and judicially cognosce upon the lybel' which had been raised against him. This they did at Dunscore kirk in July 1715, 'in presence of the heretors, elders, and inhabitants of the parish, and many people from other parishes in Nithsdale, Annandale, and Galloway.' After he had been deposed by the Presbytery of Dumfries, it was concluded by 'a presbytery of protesting ministers and elders held at Morton-Mains in Nithsdale,' in October 1716, that it was both lawful and expedient that he should continue to exercise his ministry (*Vindication of Mr. James Gilchrist*, printed in the year 1716). In May 1717 the General Assembly appointed the Presbytery of Dumfries and Lochmaben 'to go on in a process of excommunication against Mr. James Gilchrist and Mr. John Taylor with all expedition,' and 'to commence a process of deposition against Mr. John Hepburn for his schismatick and

irregular practices' (*Index of Unprinted Acts of Assembly*). In February 1718 the United Societies sent in a very incisive, plain-spoken protest to the Presbytery against the intended sentence of excommunication. In spite of this protest (which is printed in Struthers' *History of Scotland*, 1829, i. 459), the Presbytery proceeded, on the 14th of March 1718, 'to the sentence of the greater excommunication against the foresaid worthy and pious Mr. James Gilchrist' (*Plain Reasons*, pp. 52, 53). Boston says that Hepburn and Gilchrist 'joining together formed a presbytery, which lasted very short while' (*Memoirs*, 1805, p. 229). Gilchrist had been minister of New Cumnock for four years before he was translated to Dunscore in 1701 (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 105). He died in 1721, aged forty-six (*Ibid.* i. 579). Patrick Walker's allusion to Colonel Strachan's excommunication was probably suggested by the *Vindication*, in which (pp. 24, 37) it is twice referred to. The appendix to *Mene Tekel*, 1717, is devoted to 'the pretended *Vindication* of Mr. James Gilchrist, late minister at Dunscore.'

P. 33, *n.* 33. 'I doubt,' says Sheilds, 'if ever there was greater dayes of the Son of Man upon the earth since the apostolick times than we enjoyed for the space of seven years at that time' (*A Hind Let Loose*, 1687, p. 118).

P. 33, *n.* 34. Writing, four months before the battle of Bothwell Bridge, to MacWard then in Holland, Blackader says:—'It pleased the Lord to visit Galloway and Nithsdale again with a great blinke of the gospell and four publick communions within three years, where there hath appeared more success than ever before' (Crichton's *Memoirs of Blackader*, 1826, p. 180).

P. 33, *n.* 35. For an account of John Dickson's field-preaching see *The Bass Rock*, 1848, pp. 317-41.

P. 34, *n.* 36. 'During this time called *the Blynk*, which continued about a quarter of a year, several meetings and remarkable passages fell out. . . . These conventicles did wonderfully increase in number. . . . So great was the appearance of God that season, that the enemies were forced to look on as men damped and astonished' (Crichton's *Memoirs of Blackader*, 1826, pp. 156, 157). 'This comparative tranquillity, in which the country had reposed, was termed *the Blinks*' (*Ibid.* p. 170).

P. 36, *n.* 37. In the Laing MSS. (vol. 344, No. 125) in the Edinburgh University Library, the following occurs in an old hand:—'Decr. 84. In Glasgow and several places about it, there were seen by thousands bonnets of several collours flying in the air, and falling on the ground and upon people. And in the year 85, when Argyle was in armes, the militia that came against them lay and camped in these places of the streets and about the towne quhair the bonnets were mostly

seen to fall, and they had all bonnets on their heads. May 6, 85, a vision was seen of foot and horse on Glasgow Green, between 9 and 11 at night, and the horses in great companies on both sides runing away with great speed, but all with emptie sadles. A little after, Huntly came and lay with his men on that same Green.'

P. 36, *n.* 38. The battle of Bothwell Bridge was fought on the 22nd of June 1679. MacWard died at Rotterdam in December 1681 (Steven's *Scottish Church in Rotterdam*, p. 336). The comet appeared in December 1680 (Fountainhall's *Historical Observes*, pp. 13-18; Law's *Memorials*, pp. 169, 170). Both Fountainhall and Law describe the appearance of this very remarkable comet, and both refer to the judgments and disasters it was supposed to portend. In *An Historical Catechism*, printed in Edinburgh in 1741, one of the reasons given why men lived longer before Noah's flood than after it is, 'there were not so many meteors, comets, and eclipses seen, from which innumerable diseases proceed.'

P. 36, *n.* 39. Evelyn, in his *Diary*, tells that the frost in the winter of 1683-84 was so severe that coaches, carts, and horses crossed the Thames on the ice, on which booths and shops were ranged in formal streets as in a town.

P. 38, *n.* 40. It is unnecessary to go to foreign countries or to English authors for similar marvels. In August 1529, according to Bishop Lesley, 'thair wes diverse mervellis sene about Striveling . . . diverse armett men in harnes sene fechtand one the erd on day lycht, quhilk wes haldin for ane foir warning takin of sum troubles to be in theis partis' (Lesley's *History of Scotland*, p. 148). Sir James Balfour is more explicit about these armed men. He says:—'Two battalions of armed men seeme to skirmishe in order of batell in the firmament, to the grate astonishment of maney thousands that did behold the same' (Balfour's *Historical Works*, i. 261). In 1556, says Archbishop Spottiswoode, 'a fiery dragon was seen to fly low upon the earth, vomiting forth fire both in the day and night season, which lasted a long time and put the people to the necessity of watching their houses and cornyards' (Spottiswoode's *History*, i. 186). In January 1563-64, Knox says, the sea neither ebbed nor flowed for twenty-four hours; and in February there 'wes sene in the fyrmament battelis arrayit, speiris, and utheris weapounis, and as it had bene the joinyng of two armeis. Thir thingis wer nocht onlie observed bot also spokin and constantlie affyrmed be men of jugement and credit' (Laing's *Knox*, ii. 417).

P. 45, *n.* 1. In other two passages Patrick refers to Sorn as the parish in which Peden was born. 'A little before his death, he was in Auchincloigh, in the parish of Sorn, where he was born' (*supra*, i. 91).

'He came to his brother's house in the parish of Sorn where he was born' (*supra*, i. 95). In the 1724 and 1725 editions the former passage reads:—'A little before his death, he was in Auchincloigh where he was born.'

P. 45, *n.* 2. Peden 'attended the fourth class, or the last of the philosophy, in the University of Glasgow in 1648, and was then named Peathine' (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 767). Wodrow was informed that at one time he was precentor at Fenwick (*History of the Sufferings*, ii. 356).

P. 45, *n* 3. Alexander Pethein was retoured heir of his grandfather, Alexander Pethein in Hillheid of Sorn, on the 16th of March 1648 (*Inquisitiones Generales*, No. 3433); and on the same day was retoured his heir in the half-merk lands of Auchinlonfuird, in the lands of Bruntishiell and lordship of Kyilsmuir (*Inquisitiones Speciales*, Ayr, No. 418). This little lairdship had apparently been in the hands of a good many Pedens, for on the 29th of April 1611, Hugh Pethin was retoured heir of his father, Alexander Pethin in Sorn, in the half-merk lands of Auchinlonfuird, within the lands of Bruntsheillis, lordship and regality of Kylesmuir (*Ibid.* No. 776).

P. 46, *n.* 4. There is a somewhat different version in Wodrow's *Analecta*, ii. 321, 322; and another, by Sergeant Nisbet, in M'Gavin's edition of the *Scots Worthies*, 1827, p. 526 *n.*; Nisbet's *Memoirs*, 1827, p. 182.

P. 48, *n.* 5. Robert Gordon, minister of Kirkmichael, told Wodrow that Peden 'fenced the pulpite of Glenluce in Galloway, and declared that none of the curates should ever sett their foot in it, which accordingly did come to pass' (Wodrow's *Analecta*, ii. 85, 86). This version of the story gives a prophetic aspect to Peden's charge, which Patrick's does not. In writing for the press, Wodrow put it thus:—'I am told he was very positive that no curate should ever be fixed in that parish, which they say held true' (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 396). New Luce, otherwise called the Moor-Kirk of Glenluce, was disjoined from Glenluce and erected in 1646. Its first minister, John Crooks, was succeeded in 1660 by Peden, who was formally deprived in 1662, and accused in 1663 of still continuing and 'labouring to keep the hearts of the people from the present Government in Church and State.' According to tradition, a minister was appointed to the parish after Peden was outed, and was on his way to it when he fell from his horse and was killed about a mile from the church. William Kyle seems to have been the first to succeed Peden, and he did not go to New Luce until 1693 (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 767, 768). 'Lord, never let any one occupy this pulpit who does not preach Christ and Him crucified,' was the prayer of Andrew Bonar in his own church (Marjory Bonar's *Reminiscences*, 1895, p. 133).

P. 48, *n.* 6. The battle of Pentland was fought on the 28th of November 1666.

P. 49, *n.* 7. Barranthrough, *i.e.* Renfrew.

P. 49, *n.* 8. Patrick probably drew this paragraph from Wodrow, although he does not follow him in saying that Knockdow is 'in Galloway' (cf. *History of the Sufferings*, ii. 224). Kirkcudbright-Innertig, the parish in which Knockdow was situated, is now joined to Ballantrae. Peden had been expressly excepted from the pardon and indemnity granted after Pentland rising (*Ibid.* ii. 92). The Act of Privy Council condemning him to the Bass is dated 26th June 1673 (*The Bass Rock*, 1848, pp. 31, 32). After being eighteen months there, he petitioned the Privy Council, stating that, during that time, he had been 'through sicknes and great infirmitie of bodie and want of maintenance reduced unto great extremetie, soe that his present lot is exceeding sad and lamentable,' and asking their lordships 'in Christian compassione and tendernes to commiserat his deplorable conditione and to grant him such enlargement' as in their 'wisdom and goodnes' they should think fit (Fraser's *Melvilles and Leslies*, iii. 177).

P. 49, *n.* 9. Wodrow has preserved the following version of this story: —'When Mr. Pedin was in the Bass the Governour was much taken up with game, and a particular play, which Mr. Pedin thought sinfull. He reproved him once for it, and a second time; he still continoued; and the third time, Mr. Pedin said, "Sir, since you will not amend, the Lord will strick you with a wound that will smite you to the very heart!" And very soon after, the Governour's (I think only) daughter, a young girle, was caryed off the rock into the sea and drouned' (*Analecta*, ii. 322).

P. 50, *n.* 10. Beard gives some terrifying examples of the devil taking such men at their word (*Theatre of God's Judgments*, 1612, pp. 185-92).

P. 50, *n.* 11. The precise date when Peden left the Bass has not been ascertained. He was still there in October 1677 (Wodrow's *History*, ii. 356); but he is found petitioning the Privy Council in November 1678 to liberate him from Edinburgh Tolbooth, where he had lain a long time, and to permit him to go to Ireland. The Council responded by banishing him to the plantations, and forbidding him ever to return to Scotland (*Ibid.* ii. 483). His letter to Patrick Simpson, dated from the Bass, 11th August 1677, is in *The Bass Rock*, 1848, pp. 34, 35.

P. 51, *n.* 12. The use of thumbikins was not authorised by the Scottish Privy Council until five and a half years after this date, as the following extract from the MS. *Register of the Privy Council*, under date 23rd July 1684, will show: 'The Lords of his Majesties Privie Councill,

considering that the usuall way of torture hath been formerly by the boots for expiscateing of matters relateing to the Governement, and that ther is now a new inventione and ingyne called the thumbekins which will be very effectuall to the purpose and intent forsaid, doe therefore ordaine that when any persone shall be (by ther order) put to torture that the saids thumbekins, or bootes, or both, be applyed to them as it shall be found fitt and convenient.' This is incorrectly quoted in Wodrow's *History*, iv. 33.

P. 52, *n.* 13. Ralph Williamson of London undertook to transport the prisoners to the Indies, and on his behalf Peden and sixty-seven others were delivered to Edward Johnston, master of the *Saint Michael* of Scarborough, lying at Leith, in December 1678. One of the prisoners related that, when they reached Gravesend five days late, 'Mr. Williamson was not there. Mr. Johnston who had them to aliment would not take that charge any longer; and so, after waiting some little time for Williamson and he not coming, he set them ashore and left them to shift for themselves. The country were very kind to them when they knew the cause of their sufferings; and they generally got home safe after they had been absent from their houses about nine months' (Wodrow's *History*, ii. 476).

P. 53, *n.* 14. A copy of this bond may be seen in Wodrow's *History*, iii. 126.

P. 54, *n.* 15. According to Wodrow, twelve or thirteen hundred of the Bothwell Bridge prisoners were brought to Edinburgh on the 24th of June 1679, and lodged in 'the inner Greyfriars' churchyard,' and afterwards about two hundred more were brought in. The Privy Council gave orders that, if any escaped, the sentries were 'to cast the dice and answer body for body for the fugitive.' During most of the period—nearly five months—through which the Covenanters were kept in that open enclosure, they had no shelter from wind or rain, and were badly fed (*History of the Sufferings*, iii. 123-25). The part of the burying-ground in which they were kept—the *New-Yard*, as Patrick calls it—was apparently not used for interments until 1705 (Brown's *Greyfriars' Churchyard*, 1867, pp. li., lxxvii). In spite of the hardships they endured and the plausible persuasions of the ministers, 'about four hundred continued in the church-yard as refusers' of the bond. Of these nearly a hundred escaped. The others grew more resolute as their troubles increased (Wodrow's *History*, iii. 126, 127). On the 15th of November, 257 of them were marched to Leith, and crowded below the decks of a ship, where their sufferings were beyond description. On the 10th of December the ship was driven on the rocks at Orkney, and of the prisoners about two hundred were drowned (*Ibid.* iii. 130, 131). Sheilds

says that some who took the bond were sent in the ship with those who had refused (*Hind let Loose*, 1687, p. 192).

P. 54, *n.* 16. The preceding part of this paragraph has apparently been drawn from Wodrow's *History*, of which see vol. iii. p. 129.

P. 55, *n.* 17. Crichton says that Blackader's last public service was at Whitekirkhill, in East Lothian, opposite the Bass, and that he prayed for the prisoners (*Memoirs of Blackader*, 1826, p. 246). The parish of Livingston is in the county of Linlithgow.

P. 56, *n.* 18. Crichton gives the 5th of April 1681 as the date of Blackader's capture (*Memoirs*, p. 247) instead of 6th April 1680.

P. 56, *n.* 19. Isabel Alison and Marion Harvey suffered martyrdom on the 26th of January 1681, as Lord Fountainhall has it, 'for ther uttering treasonable words and other principles and opinions contrare to all our governement' (*Historical Observes*, p. 26). Archibald Riddell, an indulged minister, was sent to them in prison; but they would neither join with him in prayer nor quit their principles (*Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, pp. 80-82). Just before they were led out to execution, Bishop Paterson thus addressed Marion Harvey, 'Marion, you said you would never hear a curate; now you shall be forced to hear one.' When his underling began to pray, Marion said to her fellow-prisoner, 'Come, Isabel, let's sing the 23d Psalm.' This they did, 'Marion repeating the Psalm line by line without book, which drowned the voice of the curate and extreamly confounded the persecutors' (*Ibid.* p. 93).

P. 57, *n.* 20. John Wilson, a writer in Lanark, suffered in the Grassmarket on the 16th of May 1683. His answers before the Council as well as his last speech and testimony are in the *Cloud of Witnesses*.

P. 60, *n.* 21. Galway.

P. 61, *n.* 22. As it was reported that the Ulster Presbyterians were ripe for an insurrection similar to that quelled at Bothwell Bridge, the various presbyteries drew up addresses to the Lord-Lieutenant, declaring their continued obedience to the law and vindicating themselves from the aspersions of their enemies. The address of the brethren of Antrim was presented by 'the Rev. Thomas Gowan of Antrim and the Rev. Robert Paton of Ballyclare' (Reid's *Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, 1853, ii. 320).

P. 62, *n.* 23. William Steel at Shoptown, Glenwherry (Adair's *Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, 1866, p. 292).

P. 64, *n.* 24. Of Peden's manner, Sergeant Nisbet says:—'I observed that every time he spoke, whether conversing, reading, praying, or preaching, between every sentence he paused a little, as if he had been hearkening what the Lord would say unto him, or listening to some secret whisper. And sometimes he would start, as if he had seen

some surprising sight' (M'Gavin's edition of the *Scots Worthies*, 1827, p. 527 *n.*; Nisbet's *Memoirs*, 1827, p. 183).

P. 67, *n.* 25. Charles II. died at Whitehall, about noon on Friday the 6th of February 1685 (Ellis's *Original Letters*, first series, iii. 334; Clarke's *James the Second*, 1816, i. 749). The news of his death did not reach Edinburgh until the following Monday night or Tuesday morning (Fountainhall's *Historical Notices*, ii. 615). Many thought he had been poisoned, and wild stories were in circulation (Welwood's *Memoirs*, 1702, pp. 139-48; Burnet's *Own Time*, 1823, ii. 460-64). Welwood says:—'This is certain, his death came opportunely for the Duke [of York]; and in such a manner, and with such circumstances, as will be a problem to posterity whether he died a natural death or was hasten'd to his grave by treachery.' Burnet says:—'Since I have mentioned the suspicions of poison as the cause of his death, I must add that I never heard any lay those suspicions on his brother.' Copies of the prescriptions administered, and an account of the appearance of his body when opened—'the whole completely removing the suspicion that the king was taken off by poison'—are printed in Ellis's *Original Letters*, second series, iv. 74-76.

P. 67, *n.* 26. The most graphic account of the rescue at Enterkin in the summer of 1684 is given by Defoe (*Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, 1844, pp. 234-37). Wodrow says that it occurred 'in July or August' (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 172). Lord Fountainhall in one work places it in July (*Historical Notices*, ii. 546, 547), and in another in August (*Historical Observes*, p. 136). The exact date was Tuesday, the 29th of July, as is shown by the 'Interrogators be the Comissioners anent the late attack att Enterkine,' preserved among the Privy Council Warrants in the Register House.

P. 71, *n.* 27. Modern writers sometimes use the term 'Killing Time' as synonymous with the whole period of the persecution. By those who lived through that period, the term was applied to the hottest time of the persecution. Alexander Sheilds says:—'In the begining of this *Killing Time*, as the country calls it, the first author and authorizer of all these mischiefs, Charles II., was removed by death' (*Hind let Loose*, 1687, p. 200). See *infra*, p. 217, *n.* 29.

P. 71, *n.* 28. Cargill's Last Speech and Testimony in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, p. 2.

P. 74, *n.* 29. The oath known as 'the Test' is printed in Wodrow's *History*, iii. 296, 297. Michael Sheilds refers to it as 'that abominable, ridiculous, unparalleled, and soul-perjuring test' (*Faithful Contendings Displayed*, 1780, p. 10).

P. 74, *n.* 30. Peden was credited by others with 'foretelling the

delivery of this Church by a feather plucked out of the Pope's wing' (Wodrow's *Analecta*, ii. 85); and a similar prediction was attributed to John Welsh of Irongray (*Ibid.* ii. 59).

P. 75, *n.* 31. The six martyrs of Glen-Trool suffered at Calduns, near the south-west end of Loch Trool in Kirkcudbrightshire. Alexander Sheilds includes them in his 'list of those that were killed in cold blood, without tryal, conviction, or any colour of law.' He says they were 'surprised' when at prayer (*Short Memorial*, 1690, p. 35). Wodrow could learn little regarding them, save that 'nothing was to be charged upon them but that they were persons upon their hiding and at prayer.' He adds that 'they were immediately taken out and shot' (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 239). According to Gibson they were killed on a Sabbath morning (*Tombstones of the Covenanters*, p. 261), but Wodrow says it was upon the 23rd of January 1685, and that was a Friday. There is some confusion as to the names of two of these sufferers.

P. 79, *n.* 32. In his personal covenant, John Clark, 'who lived in Lairdmannoch, in the parish of Tongland, in Galloway,' thus expresses his gratitude to God :—'Many a time did thou deliver me remarkably in these my wanderings; and particularly in the wood of Cardoness, how didst thou then hide and cover several of us, in a cave together, from a narrow search of the cruel enemy, they going over our heads. . . . For several years together, I being destitute of any settled residence, being by enemies expelled from the place of my nativity, and cast among strangers; yet how wonderfully did thou provide for me both in meat and clothing' (Calderwood's *Dying Testimonies*, 1806, pp. 88, 89).

P. 80, *n.* 33. These three martyrs were William Johnston, George Walker, and John Milroy. 'After many remarkable escapes, they were at last taken by a party sent out by Major Windram and brought in prisoners to Wigton, where the Major examined them, and they declining to answer some of his interrogatories, and peremptorily refusing to join in hearing the episcopal minister, without the trouble of an assize or trial, caused hang them all at Wigton the very day after they were apprehended' (Wodrow's *History*, iv. 252).

P. 81, *n.* 34. In the 1724 edition (p. 72), and also in the Glasgow 1725 edition (p. 30), this passage begins :—'About this time he was in a house in the shire of Air, where James Nisbet was staying, yet living in the Castle of Edinburgh, who can bear witness to the truth of this.' In the Edinburgh 1725 edition (p. 72), the word 'servant' is substituted for 'staying.' Patrick's language plainly implies that he died in 1727. This James Nisbet was a son of the gallant and famous John Nisbet of Hardhill, who suffered martyrdom in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh on the 4th of December 1685. From his own *Memoirs*, printed in 1827, it appears

(p. 42) that James was born in February 1667. In these *Memoirs* (p. 102) he refers to Peden preaching in the gentleman's house where he then was. This was on the 27th of April 1685. He also mentions (pp. 103-105) the imprecation, and the dragoons coming next morning before nine o'clock, when he and the servants were working in the fields. He describes vividly the long run he had for his life, and how after he reached the moss-hag he was fired upon, the ball passing his left ear. Within the compass of seven years, he says (p. 134), ten of his nearest relations sealed the cause with their blood.

P. 86, *n.* 35. In his 1724 and 1725 editions (p. 76) Patrick gives *Elizabeth Menzies*, instead of *Jean Brown*, as the name of this 'old singular Christian woman in the Cummerhead.' He again refers to the death of her son, 'Thomas Weir in Cumberhead' (*supra*, i. 125). Of her other son, David Steel, Wodrow says that, in December 1686, he 'was surprised in the fields by Lieutenant Crichton, and after his surrender on quarters, he was in a very little time most barbarously shot' (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 357). Creichton, who calls him Captain David Steele, affirms that he dreamt he found him in a farmer's house, and that he was found there by a party of dragoons he sent out, who slew him with their broadswords as he tried to escape (Swift's *Memoirs of Captain Creichton*, 1829, pp. 47, 49).

P. 86, *n.* 36. Wodrow's account of John Brown's martyrdom is substantially the same as Patrick Walker's save on one point. He says that the soldiers were so affected by Brown's prayer 'that, as my informations bear, not one of them would shoot him, or obey Claverhouse's commands, so that he was forced to turn executioner himself, and in a fret *shot him with his own hand*, before his own door, his wife with a young infant standing by, and she very near the time of her delivery of another child' (Wodrow's *History*, iv. 245). Patrick's account implies that the six soldiers who were ordered to shoot Brown did so; and the widow told him that 'when the shotts were let off, her eyes dazled.' Aytoun, in the appendix to his *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*, examines at considerable length 'the story of John Brown,' which he was 'particularly anxious to expiscate.' The 'tale,' he says, 'is usually brought forward as the crowning instance of the cruelty of Claverhouse.' In the course of his examination he exclaims:—'For thirty-three years after the Revolution, the details of this atrocious murder were never revealed to the public! Nowhere in print or pamphlet, memoir, history, or declaration, published previously to Wodrow [1722], does even the name of John Brown occur, save once, in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, a work which appeared in 1714; and in that work no details are given, the narrative being comprehended in a couple of lines. I have searched for it amidst

all the records of the so-called martyrology, but cannot find a trace of it elsewhere, until the Reverend Robert Wodrow thought fit to place the tale, with all its circumstantiality, in his *History.*' Aytoun's search must have been perfunctorily performed. In a pamphlet by Alexander Sheilds, published immediately after the Revolution, the tragedy is thus told :—'The said Claverhouse, in May 1685, apprehended John Brown in Priesthill, in the parish of Moorkirk, in the shire of Air, being at his work, about his own house, and shot him dead before his own door, in presence of his wife' (*A Short Memorial of the Sufferings and Grievances, Past and Present, of the Presbyterians in Scotland: Particularly of those of them called by nick-name Cameronians,* 1690, p. 35). A year later, Gilbert Rule also gives a short account of the martyrdom :—'The same year, in May, Graham of Claverhouse . . . took John Brown of Priesthill, in the parish of Moorkirk, being at his work, in his own house, and shot him dead in presence of his wife, and that without any shadow of trial' (*A Second Vindication of the Church of Scotland,* 1691, p. 128). Two years passed and the martyrdom was again referred to in a well-known work :—'May 1685, he [*i.e.* Graham of Claverhouse] shot John Brown of Priesthill, in the parish of Moorkirk, in the shire of Air, as at his work before his own door, in presence of his wife. He also ordered his troop to kill Matthew Mekelwrath without examination, in the paroch of Camonel in Carrick, anno 1685' (*An Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence,* 1693, p. 24). Aytoun probably knew nothing of these works ; and his reference to the *Cloud of Witnesses* shows that he had not examined it with any care. The foregoing account of Brown's martyrdom by Sheilds is carefully quoted in the 1714 edition of the *Cloud,* p. 278, with the intimation, on p. 277, that it is taken from '*A Short Memorial of the Sufferings and Grievances of the Presbyterians in Scotland,* printed in the year 1690.' Had Aytoun observed this passage, he could neither have said that Brown's name did not occur before 1714, nor that no details of the martyrdom were then given. In the same edition of the *Cloud,* p. 287, there is a copy of the inscription on the tombstone, which is thus introduced :—'Upon a stone lying on the corps of John Brown, who lived in the parish of Moorkirk, who was shot dead by Graham of Claverhouse at his own door, May 1, 1685, and lyes buried there in the open fields.' In the inscription itself occur the two lines :—

> 'Butcher'd by Claver'se and his bloody band,
> Raging most rav'nously o're all the land.'

Possibly these are the two lines, and the only two, which Aytoun found in the *Cloud,* bearing upon Brown's murder. Even though all these references had been brought under Aytoun's notice, it is quite

likely that he would have continued to adhere to his conviction that Claverhouse 'was not present at the execution of John Brown.' That conviction, however, became utterly untenable, and the arguments by which he tried to support it absolutely futile, after Mark Napier published the original letter written by Claverhouse himself, on Sabbath the 3rd of May 1685, and addressed to the Duke of Queensberry. The opening sentences run thus:—'On Frayday last, amongst the hilles, betwixt Douglas and the Plellands, we purseued tuo fellous a great way throu the mosses, and in end seised them. They had no armes about them, and denayed they had any; but being asked if they would take the abguration, the eldest of tuo, called John Broun, refused it, nor would he swear not to ryse in armes against the King, but said he kneu no king. Upon which, and there being found bullets and match in his house, and treasonable peapers, I caused shoot him dead; which he suffered very inconcernedly' (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, ii. 529). The letter is also printed from the original in the *Drumlanrig Papers*, Historical MSS. Commission, 15th report, app. viii. pp. 292, 293; and it is printed twice in modern spelling in Napier's *Memorials and Letters of Claverhouse*, i. 141-43; iii. 457-59. In his laboured defence of Claverhouse, Napier has devoted far more space to John Brown's story than Aytoun did; but, warned by the castigation administered to Aytoun on this point, in the *North British Review* for 1850, he has not ventured to assert that Wodrow was the first to publish the fact. While carefully refraining from pointing out Aytoun's serious errors, he admits that when the Professor went forth to battle, 'his materials were imperfect and his researches incomplete,' but rashly affirms that 'the few mistakes hence arising . . . offer no available chink in the armour of the Scottish cavalier' (*Memorials and Letters of Claverhouse*, i. 3 *n.*). Though Claverhouse's letter was written so soon after the event, it does not follow that all the details he gives are perfectly reliable. The way in which he 'redeemed' his promise to plead for the martyr's terror-stricken nephew does not impress one with his love of truth or sense of honour. In a note to 'The Battle of Bothwell Brig,' in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, Sir Walter Scott has quoted Patrick Walker's account of John Brown's martyrdom from one of the earliest editions. In the 1724 edition, and in both of the 1725 editions, the martyr's wife is named *Marion* Weir, but in the 1728 edition she appears as *Isabel* Weir. In Sir Walter's extract she is called Marion. In his *History of Scotland*, 1836, ii. 46, 47, Sir Walter incorporates nearly the whole of Patrick's touching narrative of the tragedy, which, he says, 'is told with great simplicity and effect.' Of the murder he says:—'Nor, considering the cold-blooded and savage barbarity of the deed,

can we admit the excuse either of the orders under which he acted, or of the party prejudices of the time, or of the condition of the sufferer as a rebel and outlaw, to diminish our unqualified detestation of it.'

P. 87, *n.* 37. Of John Brown's character Wodrow says, 'Scarcely ever have I met with greater encomiums of a country man than I have of this person from people of sense and credit yet alive who knew him. He had a small bit of land in that parish [Muirkirk], and was a carrier to his employment, and was ordinarily called the Christian carrier. He had been a long time upon his hiding in the fields, and was of great use to and took much pains upon the instructing of several youths, who were well-meaning in the main, but being now neglected in their education, and wanting the advantage of sermons, needed instructions when they came and joined themselves to the sufferers. He was of shining piety, and had great measures of solid digested knowledge and experience, and had a singular talent of a most plain and affecting way of communicating his knowledge to others' (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 244, 245). In his own choice way Mark Napier describes John Brown as 'a Bothwell Bridge outlaw, a desperate ragamuffin' (*Memorials and Letters of Claverhouse*, iii. 457).

P. 87, *n.* 38. Argyle was captured and executed in June 1685.

P. 88, *n.* 39. 'When the Cameronians were upon their march to join Argyl, Mr. Peden, another of their ministers, stopping suddenly, intreated them to halt, and after a short ejaculation cryed out, We have no occasion to go any farther, for the Earl is this minute fallen a sacrifice to the fury of his enemies. Whereupon several gentlemen pulled out their watches to mark the time, which was afterward found to answer to a very minute accordingly, tho' the Earl and they were at least 50 miles distant' (*Memoirs of John Ker of Kersland*, 1726, p. 6).

P. 89, *n.* 40. *Cf.* Amos viii. 12.

P. 90, *n.* 41. In the first edition (p. 79) this reads, 'In the hands of a few, who shall neither have minister nor magistrate amongst them, who shall be despised,' etc. John Howie, who noticed the variation, was uncertain whether it proceeded 'from different informations, or from partiality,' but said:—'It is affirmed that the author of these passages was then amongst that party who had neither magistrate nor minister at that time; or at least was not in full communion with any party, if it was not those adhering to Mr. Hepburn' (*Biographia Scoticana*, 1781, p. 494). Hepburn was dead before Patrick's first edition of Peden was printed. The cause of the alteration in the 1728 edition was probably John Clark's communication to Mr. Murray. See next note. The paragraph, substantially as it appeared in the earlier editions, is appended to the Glasgow [? 1726] reprint of Kirkton's *History of Mr. John Welsh*.

P. 90, *n.* 42. The last sentence of this paragraph is neither in the 1724 nor 1725 editions. John Clark had delayed to give the confirmation when desired (*supra*, i. 99, 117).

P. 91, *n.* 43. See *supra*, ii. 128, *n.* 1.

P. 92, *n.* 44. Thomas Lundie, M.A., son of Thomas Lundie, minister of Caputh, was admitted minister of Rattray in 1639. He was a Protester, and was summoned before the Privy Council in 1663 for labouring 'to keep the hearts of the people from the present government of Church and State' (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 813). The same story concerning Lundie is included in the little tract entitled, 'Some Predictions or Prophesies of severals of the reverend and worthy servants of the Lord,' printed in Edinburgh by Alexander Alison in 1739. But, in it, 1693 is given instead of 1683 as the date of his sister's death.

P. 93, *n.* 45. The remainder of this paragraph is not in the 1724 and 1725 editions. It would be interesting to know where Patrick obtained it. Wodrow recorded it in almost exactly the same words in 1708 (*Analecta*, i. 132, 133). It is also in the tract mentioned in the immediately preceding note. This John Welsh was the son of Josias Welsh of Temple Patrick, and therefore grandson of the famous John Welsh of Ayr, and great-grandson of John Knox. He became minister of Kirkpatrick-Irongray in 1653, was deprived in 1662, took to field preaching, had a large price offered for his apprehension, made many marvellous escapes, and died at London in 1681 (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 592, 593).

P. 95, *n.* 46. See *supra*, ii. 128, *n.* 1.

P. 95, *n.* 47. Under the title of 'The Last Words of Mr. Alexander Pethan, called his Testament, upon the 28th of January 1686,' Wodrow has recorded a passage almost exactly the same as that which occupies the next sixteen lines of the text. Wodrow adds: 'He departed this life about two hours after he spoke these things' (*Analecta*, i. 134). This passage is also appended to the Glasgow [? 1726] reprint of Kirkton's *History of John Welsh*.

P. 97, *n.* 48. 'He [*i.e.* Peden] was privately interred in Mr. David Boswell of Auchinleck his isle [*i.e.* aisle] in the church of Auchinleck; and after he had been buried six or eight weeks, the soldiers getting notice where he had been laid came and took out his corpse, and carried them to the gallows' foot in Cumnock, and there buried him as a malefactor. This raising him after he was buried, Mr. Peden, before his death, did very positively foretell before several witnesses, some of whom are yet alive who were present, from whom I have it, else I should not have noticed this here' (Wodrow's *History*, iv. 396). The prediction and its fulfilment are also mentioned by Ker of Kersland (*Memoirs*, 1726, pp. 6, 7) and by Nisbet, who adds that Lieutenant Murray intended to

hang the corpse upon the gibbet in chains, but was prevented by the intercession of 'the Countess of Dumfries and the Lady Affleck' (*Memoirs of James Nisbet*, 1827, pp. 184, 185).

P. 98, *n.* 49. Nisbet says that Lieutenant Murray, with a troop of dragoons, 'came to Auchinleck's tomb, took out the coffin, after six weeks' interment, broke it open, tore the winding-sheet, and exposed the corpse to open view, and summoned in the country to declare upon oath if they knew that it was the body of Mr. Alexander Peden.' The same sufferer speaks of the corpse as 'mortified' (*Memoirs of James Nisbet*, pp. 184, 185).

P. 100, *n.* 50. Of Peden, Wodrow says:—'This singularly religious person hath been very much abused since his death, by handing about some prophetical expressions said to have been uttered by him in the year 1684 or 1685, and the printing of a prophecy said to have been emitted by him in Ireland, 1684. . . . As to those prophetical expressions of his which are handed about in writ only, I say nothing of them since they are but in the hands of a few, and by the tartness and bitterness of the style they evidently discover themselves to be far from his spirit. Of the prophecy that is printed under Mr. Peden's name, I have seen two different copies, and a third in manuscript differing from them both. . . . By all the rules of charity I reckon myself obliged to take this prophecy to have been most injuriously fathered upon Mr. Peden' (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 396, 397). Copies of this printed prophecy are now excessively rare. It is a very small tract of eight pages. Dr. Thomas M'Crie the second, who probably never saw it, supposes it was written by Patrick Walker (M'Crie's *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1841, p. 255 *n.*), forgetting, if he had ever noticed, that Patrick throws discredit upon it. It is entitled, 'A most strange and wonderful Prophecie in the year 1684 by Mr. Alexander Peden, late minister of the gospel in the west of Scotland.' I have had the use of two editions of it, both printed—wretchedly printed—before 1715. The language varies very slightly. In the one Queen Anne is *gracious*, in the other *glorious*.

P. 101, *n.* 51. 'There were conjunct with Mr. Gordon several others who furiously followed the informing-trade; especially in Carrick, one Robert Cathcart, John Dick (who since has turned a trooper or dragoon) and others, who never left off with their clamorous tongues and scribling pens to spread their libels against him [*i.e.* Renwick], until their discovered lies made them as infamous as they endeavoured to make him odious' (Sheilds's *Life of Renwick*, 1724, p. 88).

P. 102, *n.* 52. See *supra*, ii. 58-61.

P. 102, *n.* 53. Among those who were admitted to positions of trust in Argyle's party there were, says Sheilds, 'some that had accession to

the blood shed at Airs-moss, to wit, Sir John Cochran, who had a hand in bringing the forces thither, and since hath treacherously redeemed his life by turning a traiterous informer against his fellow-associates' (*Life and Death of James Renwick*, 1724, p. 74). Among the Laing MSS. (vol. 350, No. 155) in the Edinburgh University Library there is—

'A true transcript of a letter sent from William Cleiland to Sir John Cochrane.

'S p 9. If ye knew what hazards I have run, and travell I have been at, ye would be satisfied. I have not been negligent, I have turned all stones; and I hope by God's assistance things shall go well: the great multitudes of enemies and remissnesse of some friends hath retarded mightilie. By God's help I hope the mal-contents are gained, and begins now to act. I have this order to write in their names, that if Mr. Ker [margin—*Argyle*] be for the work of reformation carryed on from the [16]38 to the [16]48 they are for him. Let him not spare to speak them fair, and no to be any way troubled for what they may write to him. Keep you strong where ye are, and keep the enemie in als great vexation as ye can, till ye see a beacon on Lowdoun-hill. I hope in eight days, or thereby, all shall be in a flame. Send us intelligence to Moffet-well, if possible, where I shall have a man or a woman with a knot of broad red ribbands about their right arme, to whom they shall give intelligence. Haste to send it. The enemie did prevent us as to horses, but we are minded to retake them; if ye could frequentlie alarme the enemie it would exceedinglie weaken them. In short, things are brought to a probable posture. Which.'

P. 102, *n.* 54. Patrick Walker has stated very fairly the objections which the Society People had to take part in Argyle's rising. See *An Informatory Vindication of a poor, wasted, misrepresented remnant of the suffering, anti-Popish, anti-Prelatick, anti-Erastian, anti-Sectarian, true Presbyterian Church of Christ in Scotland, united together in a General Correspondence*, 1707, p. 21; Sheilds's *Life of Renwick*, 1724, pp. 73, 74. In *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, 1780, pp. 186-220, there is a letter, of 7th December 1685, from Robert Hamilton, 'to the anti-Popish, anti-Prelatick, anti-Erastian, anti-Sectarian, true Presbyterian Remnant of the Church of Scotland.' Among the Laing MSS. (vol. 344, No. 206) in Edinburgh University Library, there is an incompleted copy of a fuller version of the same letter. It is addressed 'To the anti-Popish, anti-Prelatick, anti-Erastian, *anti-Munmothenian, anti-Argathelian*, anti-Sectarian, true Presbyterian, faithfull, sweet and valiently contending Remnant of the Church of Scotland.'

P. 103, *n.* 55. For accounts of the conferences which Barclay and Langlands had with Renwick and the Society People in July 1685, see

Informatory Vindication, 1707, pp. 22-25; *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, 1780, pp. 167-81. After these conferences many were prevailed upon, especially in Carrick and Calder-muir, to withdraw from the Societies which adhered to Renwick (Sheilds's *Life of Renwick*, 1724, p. 77). Wodrow speaks of Barclay and Langlands, in connection with these conferences, as 'those two excellent persons' (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 392).

P. 105, *n.* 56. 'It seems they had resolved one way or other to have him [*i.e.* Renwick] made odious; for word was sent to Ireland, and information written to Holland and turned into Dutch, that he was but a poor, unlearned, empty, blown up, proud thing; and that the means they used had proved so successful that all had now left him but about a hundred silly, poor, daft bodies, that were running through with him and robbing the country. His usual answer, when such reports came to his ears, was, *I will not say so of them;* and advised his friends not to contend with them with such sort of weapons, and have a care not to render railing for railing; which was very engaging to all that knew him' (Sheilds's *Life of Renwick*, 1724, pp. 78, 79).

P. 105, *n.* 57. Renwick's 'Reply to Mr. Robert Langlan's letter to Gavin Woderspoon' is appended to 'A Confutation of a Scandalous Pamphlet intituled, *A Manifesto, or the Standard of the Church of Scotland*, in answer to a letter from a Gentleman, by the United Societies. . . . Printed in the year MDCCXXIV.'

P. 106, *n.* 58. Alexander Sheilds died in 1700. The first edition of his *Life and Death of that eminently pious free and faithful minister and martyr of Jesus Christ, Mr. James Renwick*, was not published until 1724. It was reprinted in 1806; and also, in 1827, in the second volume of the *Biographia Presbyteriana*.

P. 106, *n.* 59. Sheilds also affirms that the reproaches prevailed so far with Peden 'as not only to alienate him from Mr. Renwick, but to instigate him unto a declared and resolved opposition to him, yea, to speak very bitterly against him, that he would make his name to stink above the ground' (*Life and Death of Renwick*, 1724, p. 99).

P. 107, *n.* 60. Here also Patrick seems to be following Sheilds's *Renwick*, p. 99.

P. 110, *n.* 61. This vaulted apartment in Dunnottar Castle is on the ground floor, and is 58 feet long by 15 feet wide. It seems to have been originally intended for stores (Macgibbon and Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, i. 572). These ill-used Covenanters were 'put into an old ruinous and rusty house, and shut up under vaults above 80 in a room, men and women, without air, without ease, without place either to lie or walk, and without any comfort save what they had

from heaven' (*Hind let Loose*, 1687, p. 201). When Alexander Sheilds was a prisoner in Edinburgh he wrote to the Dunnottar prisoners a long letter, 'concerning the due boundaries of Christian fellowship,' which letter was printed as a 32-page pamphlet in 1726. In a petition, which came before the Privy Council on the 18th of June 1685, it is alleged that 'one hundreth and ten' were in one vault, 'men and women promiscuously togither,' and 'fourtie tuo more in another roume.'

P. 115, *n.* 62. In the 1724 edition, p. 101, *eternal* is misprinted *external*. Of this error Patrick's enemies were not slow to take advantage (*supra*, i. 171). The error is repeated in the Glasgow edition of 1725, p. 46; but is corrected in the Edinburgh edition of that year, p. 101.

P. 117, *n.* 63. James Murray, who had been a school-fellow of Thomas Boston's at Duns (Boston's *Memoirs*, 1805, p. 16), was admitted minister of Penpont in 1693, and died in 1735 (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 669).

P. 117, *n.* 64. This paragraph has been substituted in the 1728 edition for the following, which appeared in the 1724 edition and in the Edinburgh 1725 edition :—'An advertisement unto all into whose hands the foregoing Relations may fall, That what further of Remarkable Passages in the Life and Death of Mr. Peden that may be edifying and useful for the present or following ages that I have not been informed and confirmed of the truth and certainty thereof, let them be pleased to write and send distinct accounts of the same to me, to be found at Bristo-Port in Edinburgh, and I promise they shall be faithfully transmitted amongst the rest of the Relations which I have yet to publish; the account whereof I have insert in the preceeding preface.'

P. 119, *n.* 65. In the *Memoir of Mrs. Goodall*, written by herself, and printed for the first time, it is believed, in 1847, there is an account of her husband's excommunication and of his opposition to Prelacy, which corresponds closely with Patrick's. She also says that Peden told her husband that 'by the Prelatick excommunication he was casten out of the devill's count-book' (*Select Biographies*, Wodrow Society, ii. 488).

P. 119, *n.* 66. According to John Livingstone, Usher was 'not only ane learned but ane godly man, although ane bishop' (*Select Biographies*, i. 145).

P. 120, *n.* 67. This means that John Goodall observed the good old custom of singing straight through the Psalter at family-worship; and that on this occasion the lines quoted happened to be in the portion for that day.

P. 121, *n.* 68. Mrs. Goodall has told the story of her husband's arrest and imprisonment; and also mentions the singing of the sixth verse of the 109th Psalm, in 'a lively frame of spirit' (*Select Biographies*, ii. 489-

91). If Patrick did not see Mrs. Goodall's written *Memoir*, it is apparent that the 'relation' which she gave when dying must have tallied very closely with it. As he does not say that he received the 'relation' from her, he probably only had it at second-hand. In that case, and if her dying 'relation' was merely oral, Patrick's account of the excommunication, order for arrest, and imprisonment is remarkable, not only for its fidelity, but also for the accuracy of his memory and of his informant's.

P. 122, *n.* 69. See *supra*, i. 52; ii. 131, *n.* 13.

P. 123, *n.* 70. *Supra*, i. 52, 53.

P. 125, *n.* 71. At the battle of Drumclog, 'Thomas Weir rode in amongst them [*i.e.* the enemy] and took a standard, and he was mortally wounded and knocked on the head, but pursued as long as he was able and then fell.' He 'lived three days' (Russell's *Account*, appended to Kirkton's *History*, p. 444), and was buried at Lesmahagow, where there is still a monument to his memory (Thomson's *Martyr Graves of Scotland*, second series, p. 177). It was Thomas Weir's mother who comforted John Brown's widow at Priesthill (*supra*, p. 86).

P. 127, *n.* 72. John Brown of Wamphray was the author of 'The History of the Indulgence, shewing its rise, conveyance, progress, and acceptance: together with a Demonstration of the unlawfulness thereof, and an Answere to contrary objections: as also a Vindication of such as scruple to hear the Indulged. By a Presbyterian. Printed in the year MDCLXXVIII.' This 4to pamphlet extends to 142 pages, over and above 'the Epistle to the Christian Reader,' which was written by M'Ward. The reply, a small 8vo of 664 pages, written by William Vilant, is entitled, 'A Review and Examination of a book bearing the title of the *History of the Indulgence*. Wherein the lawfulness of the acceptance of the peaceable exercise of the ministry, granted by the acts of the magistrates' indulgence, is demonstrated, contrary objections answered, and the vindication of such as withdraw from hearing indulged ministers is confuted. To which is added a Survey of the mischievous absurdities of the late Bond and Sanquhair Declaration. . . . London: Printed for Tho. Cockerill, at the Three Legs in the Poultrey, over-against the Stocks Market. 1681.' Vilant became minister of Ferry-Port-on-Craig in 1656, was deprived in 1662, suspended in 1664, and deposed in 1665 for refusing submission to the Church government (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 427). In 1669 he was indulged in Cambusnethan, but was deprived in 1684 for not giving information against some Covenanters who had passed by his church on a Sabbath evening (*Ibid.* ii. 275). After the Revolution he was restored to his former charge at Ferry-Port-on-Craig, and was soon promoted to be Principal of the New College, St. Andrews (*Ibid.* ii. 427). John Howie hints that it was 'perhaps because he wrote a pretended answer

to the History of the Indulgence' that Wodrow calls him 'a man of singular learning, moderation and temper.' Howie tells that Vilant, having heard some one speak of Donald Cargill's 'faithfulness and diligence in preaching at all hazards,' said, 'What needs all this ado? We will get heaven, and they will get no more.' This having been repeated to Cargill, he replied, 'Yes, we will get more; we will get God glorified on earth, which is more than heaven' (*The Judgment and Justice of God Exemplified*, 1782, p. 34).

P. 129, *n.* 73. James Brown, who had been a minister in New England, was called to Glasgow in 1638, and was a minister of the High Church from 1690, having for his charge the north quarter of the city and parish. He died in 1714 (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 6, 16).

P. 129, *n.* 74. 'Where read we that the true prophets of old, even in trances and ecstasies wherein their outward senses were bound, had such wild, anticque, and unnatural motions of body as these Quakers sometimes have, who will foame, swell and froath at the mouth, like persons in an epilepsie' (Brown's *Quakerisme the Path-way to Paganisme*, 1678, p. 419).

P. 130, *n.* 75. Increase Mather, after relating some fearful stories, says:—'That the Quakers are some of them undoubtedly possessed with evil and infernal spirits, and acted [upon] in a more than ordinary manner by the inmates of hell, is evident not only from the related instances, but by other awful examples which might be mentioned' (*Remarkable Providences*, 1890, p. 245).

P. 133, *n.* 76. John Stevenson, a land-labourer in Carrick, who suffered much during the persecution, tells in his *Comforting Cordial* a remarkable experience which he had in answer to prayer:—'When we got up from prayer the rain was pouring down on every side, but in the way where we were to go there fell not one drop. The place not rained on was as big as an ordinary avenue; and so we went on our way rejoicing at the goodness of God, who kept us and the child dry, whilst it continued for a considerable time to pour down on each side of the way' (*Select Biographies*, Wodrow Society, ii. 443). Wodrow heard, but was slow to believe, that the famous Robert Bruce, when tender and sickly, rode with a brother minister to a meeting of presbytery, through a terrible rain, and yet looked as if there were only 'a little dew upon his clothes,' while his companion was 'wet through and through' (Bruce's *Sermons and Life*, Wodrow Society, p. 149). The Abbot of Rievaux tells a more marvellous tale about St. Ninian:—'When reading in the heaviest rain no moisture ever touched the book on which he was intent. When all around him was everywhere wet with water running upon it, he alone sat, with his little book, under the waters, as if he were pro-

tected by the roof of a house.' When, however, he allowed himself to harbour an unlawful thought, the shower invaded both him and his book until he drove away the suggestion of the devil (Bishop Forbes's *Ninian and Kentigern*, 1874, pp. 18, 19). Ninian was in turn surpassed by Kentigern, if Joceline is to be believed. 'Never in his life were his clothes wetted with drops of rain, or with snow or hail. . . . For often, standing in the open air, while the inclemency of the weather increased and the pouring rain flowed in different directions like bilge-water, and the spirit of the storm raged around him, he from time to time stood still or went whither he would, and yet he always continued uninjured and untouched by a drop of rain from any quarter.' The same protection was sometimes, by his merits, extended to his disciples who were with him (*Ibid.* pp. 97, 98).

P. 135, *n.* 77. 'Captain Campbell of Welwood, at this time very young, getting notice of him [*i.e.* of Peden], went to him, and stayed many days with him in a den they made for themselves in the earth, in a very retired place, which nobody knew of but one person who brought them meat. At length their hiding-place was smelled out by the soldiers, and they were put again to their shifts. This gentleman tells me that all this time, for some months, Mr. Peden had a great pressure upon his spirit, and was unwearied in prayer and wrestling, and used to pass many nights in sighs and groans. Mr. Peden most of the summer 1685 wandered through the south the best way he could, being much under his hiding with Mr. Langlands, Mr. Barclay, Lieutenant-Colonel Fullarton, and Cleland, and the last-named gentleman; when they were followed with a train of very remarkable providences, preservations, supplies, and deliverances from dangers' (Wodrow's *History*, iv. 396).

P. 136, *n.* 78. Alexander Gordon of Earlston was the son of the William Gordon of Earlston who, unconscious of the defeat of the Covenanters, was slain on his way to Bothwell Bridge. Alexander was in the battle, and had a narrow escape after it. A tenant recognised him as he rode through Hamilton, 'made him dismount, put his horse furniture into a dunghill, and obliged him to put on women's clothes and rock the cradle, by which means he was preserved' (Crookshank's *History of the Church of Scotland*, 1762, ii. 14). At a meeting of the United Societies held at Priesthill on the 15th of March 1682, he was appointed to represent their low estate to the Reformed Churches abroad, and next month he left on this mission (*Faithful Contendings Displayed*, pp. 18, 19). He returned to Scotland in the spring of 1683, and having on the 8th of May received a commission to go abroad again, he at once set out for Newcastle, and took his passage in a ship bound for Holland. Unluckily, as the vessel was leaving Tynemouth it was accidentally

stopped, and some tide-waiters on coming aboard challenged Earlston. He threw his papers into the sea, but the box floated and was picked up. Both he and Edward Aitken, who was with him, were apprehended and sent back to Scotland as prisoners (*Faithful Contendings Displayed*, pp. 64-66). On the mere ground of converse with Earlston, Aitken was condemned for treason (Fountainhall's *Historical Notices*, i. 447), and evaded martyrdom by a timely escape from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh (*Ibid.* i. 454). When Gordon was brought to the bar, the sentence, which had formerly been pronounced against him in absence, was read to him, and the 28th of September was fixed as the day of his execution. 'But,' says Lord Fountainhall, 'ther came a letter from the king, proroguing the tyme, and appointing him to be put in the boots anent his complices, he having been hitherto very disingenuous. The Counsell wrote back to the king that it was not very regular to torture malefactors after they ware condemned to dy' (*Ibid.* i. 452). Notwithstanding this hint of irregularity, a letter came from the king ordering his torture (*Ibid.* ii. 463). After hearing of this letter, Earlston 'was something beside himself, if not really distracted,' and it was difficult to induce him to leave the Tolbooth for the Council Chamber. In the Council Chamber he gave irrelevant answers; and threw the macers at his feet when they were ordered to take him to the boots; and struggled with the four soldiers who were then set on him (*Erskine of Carnock's Journal*, 1893, p. 23). According to Fountainhall, 'he, thro fear or distraction, roared out like a bull, and cryed and struck about him, so that the hangman and his man durst scarce lay hands on him.' The physicians were ordered to report on his medical condition, and on their recommendation he was sent to the Castle (*Historical Notices*, ii. 465; Wodrow's *History*, iii. 472). This was in November 1683. Wodrow says that he was sent to the Bass in May 1684 (*History*, iii. 472). Fountainhall, on the other hand, says that he was sent to the Bass in August 1684 (*Historical Notices*, ii. 549); that he was brought back from it to Edinburgh in the same month (*Ibid.* ii. 553); that he attempted to escape from the Tolbooth, but only succeeded in getting on to the roof, and was sent to Blackness Castle on the 20th of September (*Ibid.* ii. 555). It was probably after he was brought back from the Bass, and before he was sent to Blackness, that he met Patrick Walker in prison, and learned from him 'how to manage the great weight of irons that was upon his legs.' He was liberated at the Revolution (Wodrow's *History*, iii. 472). See *infra*, p. 229.

P. 137, *n.* 79. On the 14th of February 1683, the United Societies sent Alexander Gordon to Ireland, to entreat Peden and other two ministers to hasten to Scotland, as there was none left 'to hold up the fallen banner of our Lord by the preaching of the Gospel' (*Faithful*

Contendings Displayed, pp. 50, 51). As Earlston was then abroad (*Ibid.* pp. 45, 64), this must have been another Alexander Gordon, probably the one who had been temporarily suspended at a general meeting of the Societies, on the 15th of June 1682, for allowing Peden to baptize his child (*Ibid.* p. 23); and who, at a later period, was sent to Rotterdam to invite ministers to preach in Scotland (*Erskine of Carnock's Journal*, p. 194); and may apparently be identified with Alexander Gordon of Kinstuir. As Cargill was with Peden the last time that Earlston saw him, his mission to Peden must have been before the 27th of July 1681, when Cargill was executed.

P. 138, *n.* 80. Patrick seems to have drawn the additional information in this paragraph from Ker of Kersland, who mentions a sermon by Peden 'wherein he foretold that, in a very few years after his death, there should be a mighty alteration of affairs in both nations, and the persecution in Scotland should cease, upon which every body will believe that their deliverance is come, and consequently will be fatally secure; but I do tell you, said he, that you will be all very much mistaken, for both these kingdoms are to be scourged by foreigners, before any of you can pretend to be happy, which will be a severer chastisement than any they ever yet have, or can undergo, from their own countrymen' (*Memoirs of John Ker of Kersland*, 1726, p. 7).

P. 139, *n.* 1. 'Robert Hamilton was a gentleman of good family, being brother to Sir William Hamilton of Preston, to whose title and estates he would have succeeded, on his death, at the Revolution, if he had not refused to own, or rather had not openly disowned, the authority of William and Mary. He appears to have been a pious man and of good intentions, but of narrow views, severe in his temper, and altogether unqualified, by want of military talents and experience, for the command which he assumed, or which was conferred on him by the small body which proved successful in the skirmish at Drumclog' (M'Crie's *Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson*, 1825, p. 452). He acted long and faithfully on the Continent as the commissioner of the United Societies. Many of his letters are printed in *The Christian's Conduct*, 1762, in the *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, and in the *Lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie*. Those who have read them will not dispute Hill Burton's remark that 'even this hard, fierce man had his tendernesses, and they seem to have been peculiarly rich and overflowing' (*History of Scotland*, 1876, vii. 228). Hamilton's troubles did not end with the Revolution. John Howie, who held him in great esteem, controverts Patrick Walker's opinion of him, and affirms that Cameron, Cargill, and Renwick, particularly Renwick, 'were the very

same in principle' as Hamilton 'to their lives' end' (*Biographia Scoticana*, 1781, p. 590 *n.*).

P. 140, *n.* 2. Patrick is here apparently referring to such attacks upon him as those of William Wilson, in his strictures on the *Life of Semple*, and of Andrew Harley in his criticism on the *Life of Peden*. These two letters are printed in the appendix of *Biographia Presbyteriana*, 1827, i. 323-47. Wilson calls him an old apostate who had put away a good conscience and made shipwreck of faith (*Ibid.* i. 325). Harley's language is quite as plain and not less pointed.

P. 142, *n.* 3. The *Harlites*, *Howdenites*, and *M'Millanites* were so named after the leaders of the various shattered remnants into which the Cameronians were then broken up. Of the Harleys, Wodrow writes in 1710: 'I find that the Harleys, that live in Cottmuir, are the authors of "The Burning Bush," "Smoking Flax," and some other of these virulent papers. I heard ane accompt of them, that I cannot now fully recollect, from James Wilson in Douglasse. The Spritts wer part of John Gibb's followers, and they wer marryed to the Harleys; the father to one of them, and the son, I think, to the other. They pretend to great revelations, and that one of the Spritts was to bring forth a son who was to deliver the world, and this church in particular! They are dreadful cheats; they pretend to fastings, and yet eat in secret. Ninian Oliphant was proselyted by them for a week and made to fast three dayes; and at lenth he discovered them eating in secret, and left them' (*Analecta*, i. 272). It is to be hoped that Wodrow had been misinformed about their revelations and their fasting. One of the two pamphlets to which he refers is a quarto of 24 pp., and is entitled:—'The Smoaking Flax Unquenchable; where the Union betwixt the two Kingdoms is dissecated, anatomized, confuted and annuled. Also that good form and fabrick of Civil Government, intended and espoused by the true subjects of the land, is illustrated and held out [Haggai ii. 6, 7, quoted]. Printed in the year 1706.' The story of Macmillan has been told by Dr. H. M. B. Reid in his *Cameronian Apostle*.

P. 142, *n.* 4. See *supra*, ii. 141, *n.* 54; *infra*, p. 175, *n.* 50.

P. 143, *n.* 5. For Patrick's account of the *Gibbites*, see *supra*, ii. 17-26. The *Russelites* he so names from James Russell, who took a prominent part in the slaughter of Archbishop Sharp, and whose narrative is appended to Kirkton's *History*. He has been described as 'a man of a hot and fiery spirit,' and with a few others he withdrew from the United Societies, because they would not make it a term of fellowship to refuse to pay custom at ports and bridges (*Faithful Contendings Displayed*, pp. 21, 22).

P. 143, *n.* 6. For the exact title of this quarto pamphlet by Sheilds, see *supra*, ii. 136.

P. 144, *n.* 7. For a note on the *Sum of Saving Knowledge*, see *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, x. 318-24.

P. 144, *n.* 8. Hamilton was one of the Marrow-men. The title of his catechism is:—'A short Catechism, concerning the three special Divine Covenants, and two Gospel Sacraments, with the Scripture Proofs; calculated especially for the use of those of weaker capacity. By Mr. Alexander Hamilton, minister of the gospel at Airth. . . . Edinburgh: Printed by John Moncur at the foot of the Bull-Closs, 1714. Price 6 pence.' The preface extends to 39 pp., and the Catechism fills other 50 pp. small 8vo. The committee for purity of doctrine, appointed by the General Assembly in 1720, sat for eight days on Hamilton and his Catechism. He appeared ten or eleven times before them, and was able to satisfy them by his answers (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, xxx. 691-94). While a student, Hamilton was courageous enough to take down James Guthrie's head from the Netherbow Port of Edinburgh. His first charge was at Ecclesmachen, where he remained from 1694 to 1700 (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 185); his second was at Airth, where he ministered from 1700 to 1726 (*Ibid.* ii. 686); and his last was at Stirling, where, from 1726 until his death in 1738, he occupied the charge which for a like period of twelve years had been held by James Guthrie (*Ibid.* ii. 675).

P. 145, *n.* 9. Cargill's letter 'to the prisoners in the Correction-House of Edinburgh' is printed in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, pp. 11-16; and in Wodrow's *History*, iii. 353-55.

P. 145, *n.* 10. The title of this quarto pamphlet is:—'Church-Communion enquired into: or a treatise against separation from this National Church of Scotland. Wherein I. Some truths confessed on all hands are held forth which if rightly considered would do much to end the present controversie. II. Some concessions are laid down for clearing the present debate. III. The controversie is stated and truth vindicated. IV. The objections are solidly and clearly answered. Which was left in manuscripts by the reverend and worthy Mr. Alexander Shields, minister of the Gospel at St. Andrews, when he was sent by the Church of Scotland unto Caledonia. Printed in the year 1706.' The 'Epistle to the reader, but especially to these who withdraw from this National Church,' is dated 'Lesmahagow, the 2d of April 1706,' and is signed by Thomas Lining. After the Revolution, Lining (along with Boyd and Sheilds) had joined the National Church (*supra*, i. 258, 260), and he became minister of Lesmahagow in 1691, and held that charge till his death in 1733 (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 328, 329). Sheilds's pamphlet on *Church Communion* was reprinted at Edinburgh by William Gray in 1747.

P. 145, *n.* 11. The postscript to which Patrick here alludes may be found in the 1707 edition of the *Informatory Vindication*, pp. 230-32. There, the pamphlet entitled *Church Communion*, is said to have been 'emitted by Mr. Lining and fathered on Mr. Shields'; and again, 'as for Mr. Thomas his pamphlet, as we judge him to be the author, so as the swatch is not pleasing, being *round spun Linning indeed*, we shall suffer the author to make the best hand of it he can.'

P. 145, *n.* 12. The *Informatory Vindication* was first printed in 1687. The title of the 1707 edition is quoted *supra*, ii. 141, *n.* 54.

P. 145, *n.* 13. 'The Testimony of some persecuted Presbyterian ministers of the Gospel unto the Covenanted Reformation of the Church of Scotland, and to the present expediencie of continuing to preach the Gospel in the fields, and against the present Antichristian Toleration in its nature and design, &c. Given in to the ministers at Edenburgh by Mr. James Renwick upon the 17 Janwarii 1688. . . . Printed in the year 1688.' This *Testimony* was reprinted in 1723.

P. 145, *n.* 14. In his prefatory epistle to 'Church-Communion,' Lining says that 'The Method and Motives of Union' was published in 1691. Its authorship is attributed by M'Main to Boyd, Sheilds, and Lining (*Earnest Contendings*, 1723, p. xi.).

P. 146, *n.* 15. The postscript is thus wound up:—'As for what bitterness he [*i.e.* Lining] hath kythed against the poor Remnant by words and deeds, in hindering them to get the gospel faithfully preached (he being the principal man that instigate his brethren to write to the colleges abroad, that all doors of hope might be shut as to the poor Remnant's bettering their condition), we say it ill became him to have stood so cross in the way of their mercy of the preached gospel, for it was to their purses he was beholden for what advancements he attained unto when abroad' (*Informatory Vindication*, 1707, pp. 231, 232).

P. 147, *n.* 16. Alexander Sheilds died at Port-Royal, in Jamaica, in June 1700.

P. 147, *n.* 17. William Wilson left his testimony 'against the sin of the suffering remnant' in receiving M'Niel as a preacher, and also 'against Mr. John M'Niel's sinful ways after that he was called by the suffering remnant to be their preacher.' Ambiguity in testifying was not one of Wilson's failings. Among his objections to M'Niel are the following:—'His praying publicly for the pretended Queen Ann, when she was on the throne, which was an owning of her in that station of a queen, which was contrary to his profession, oath, and subscription. His great negligence in not preaching through the several corners of the land where his hearers were; and often threatening to forbear preaching, as if the work of the ministry were like a common trade or employment.

His withstanding and protesting against the publishing of a public declaration against the pretended king George the First' (Calderwood's *Dying Testimonies*, 1806, pp. 381, 382).

P. 149, *n.* 18. John Glass, M.A., minister of Tealing, in the presbytery of Dundee, from 1719 to 1730, when his deposition was confirmed by the Commission of Assembly, was the founder of the small body known as the Glassites. He lived until 1773. His daughter, Catharine, married Robert Sandeman, the founder of the Sandemanians (Scott's *Fasti*, iii. 730, 731).

P. 150, *n.* 19. *The Trust* is the title of the sermon which Gabriel Wilson, minister of Maxton, preached from 1 Tim. vi. 20, at the opening of the Synod of Merse and Teviotdale in 1721. In type the sermon occupies 179 pp. 12mo. Patrick refers to it several times (*supra*, i. 245, 247). Boston spoke of Wilson in the highest terms, and regarded his friendship as 'one of the greatest comforts' of his life (*Memoirs of Thomas Boston*, 1805, p. 204).

P. 150, *n.* 20. *Before related*, that is in 1727, in the 'Vindication of Cameron's Name,' *supra*, i. 247.

P. 152, *n.* 21. The reference is to a well-known document drawn up in 1648, entitled:—'A Solemn Acknowledgment of Publick Sins and Breaches of the Covenant, and a Solemn Engagement to all the Duties contained therein.'

P. 152, *n.* 22. Francis Archibald was ordained minister of Guthrie in 1716. 'He had a leaning towards the Cameronians or Old Dissenters,' but 'from these views he was drawn off by the influence of Mr. John Glas, minister of Tealing,' and adopted Glassite sentiments and practices. In January 1729 the Synod of Angus and Mearns deposed him. Next November the Commission of Assembly recalled the sentence of deposition, but declared him no longer minister of Guthrie, and no longer a minister of the Church of Scotland (Scott's *Fasti*, iii. 795).

P. 152, *n.* 23. This was M'Millan's third wife, whose name even Dr. H. M. B. Reid has been unable to discover. Wodrow mentions a rumour that he was married by Mr. Fork, but that rumour, he adds, was found to be groundless. He also mentions another rumour 'that some minister in Angus had married him,' but that, he says, was found to be false, 'and his people wer told that no Presbiterian minister in the Church would marry an excommunicat person, as he was' (*Analecta*, iii. 244).

P. 154, *n.* 24. The prosecution of Greenshields for conducting an Episcopal service in Edinburgh led to the passing of the Act of Parliament of 1712, by which it was declared to be 'free and lawful for all those of the Episcopal communion, in that part of Great Britain called

Scotland, to meet and assemble for the exercise of divine worship, to be performed after their own manner by pastors ordained by a Protestant bishop, and who are not established ministers of any church or parish, and to use in their congregations the Liturgy of the Church of England, if they think fit, without any let, hindrance, or disturbance from any person whatsoever' (Grub's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, iii. 363, 364).

P. 154, *n.* 25. In the General Assembly, in 1590, James the Sixth said :—'As for our nighbour kirk in England, it is an evill said masse in English, wanting nothing but the liftings' (Calderwood's *History*, v. 106).

P. 154, *n.* 26. The tumult against the Service-Book in the church of St. Giles took place on the 23rd of July 1637 (Rothes' *Relation*, pp. 197-200).

P. 155, *n.* 27. Twenty-nine years before Patrick penned the passage in the text, an anonymous but vigorous writer referred to some of the Episcopal curates as 'a pack of prophane scandalous wretches, drunkards, swearers, and obscene vagabond fellows, polutting both city and countrey with their irregular baptisms, marriages, &c., who do not in the least scruple (for a small piece of money) to baptize all the bastards and illegittimat-brats in the kingdom, without enquiring after either father or mother; nor to joyn in marriage the brother with his sister (for any thing they know, their enquiry, if any at all, being very overly, only for a sham-exoneration) and to marry a man unto one woman to-day, and to another to-morrow, and both alive, the which they have already done' (*A Proper Project for Scotland*, 1699, p. 56).

P. 157, *n.* 28. In 1653 the Presbytery of St. Andrews deprived the schoolmaster of Largo for, among other faults, his 'profane nameing of the devill twyse upon the Lord's day' (*Minutes of the Presbyteries of St. Andrews and Cupar*, Abbotsford Club, p. 66); or, as Lamont has it, 'for profainlie taking the name of the divill in his mouthe twyse' (Lamont's *Diary*, 1830, p. 56). A serious rhymster of the eighteenth century says :—

'Our common oaths are such as these :
Troth, 'aith, 'od, faith, and contance ;
With fiend and deil, and soul and saal,
And trogs, and fegs, and conscience
. . . . .
Yea, some are turn'd so very loose
As bid the deil to take them !
While yet he wants not will, but pow'r,
Just down to hell to shake them.'
(*Scotland's Glory and her Shame.*)

P. 158, *n.* 29. 'The one day in all my life,' says John Livingstone,

'wherein I got most presence of God in publick, was on a Munday after an communion, preaching in the churchyeard of the Shotts, the 21st of June 1630' (*Select Biographies*, Wodrow Society, i. 138). 'I can speak on sure ground, near 500 had at that time a discernable change wrought on them, of whom most proved lively Christians afterward' (*Fulfilling of the Scripture*, 1671, p. 417).

P. 158, *n.* 30. 'His night-gown,' that is, his dressing-gown. See e.g. *Pepys' Diary* under dates 18th January 1665-66, and 3rd September 1666; *Memoirs of Elizabeth Wast*, 1730, p. 53.

P. 159, *n.* 31. Archibald Symson has recorded a much more calamitous judgment on Sabbath-breaking, of which he was an eye-witness, near Dunbar in or about 1577. His father wept when, in a great calm, he saw 'a thousand boates setting their nets on the Sabboth.' When at midnight 'they went forth to draw their nets, the wind arose so fearefully that it drowned eight score and ten boates, so that there were reckoned in the coast side foureteene score of widowes' (*Sacred Septenarie*, 1638, p. 113).

P. 160, *n.* 32. By church-officers he does not mean beadles but office-bearers.

P. 160, *n.* 33. 'The Horn Order and Crispin Knights are satirised in several pasquils of the time of Queen Anne as fraternities practising debauchery to an unusual degree' (Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, iii. 482).

P. 161, *n.* 34. 'Changed her self' is a common Scotticism for 'changed her clothes.'

P. 164, *n.* 35. 'Winefridus, born at Kirton, in Devonshire, after surnamed Boniface, who converted Freeseland to Christianity, was wont to say: "In old time they were golden prelats, and wooden chalices, but in his time wooden prelats and golden chalices"' (Camden's *Remains concerning Britain*, 1870, p. 257).

P. 166, *n.* 36. See *supra*, ii. 119, *n.* 1.

P. 168, *n.* 37. By 'the last Assembly' is meant the General Assembly which met in May 1728. This edition of *Peden's Life* could not therefore be printed before May 1728.

P. 168, *n.* 38. In the summer of 1650 there was a shower of blood in the south of Scotland, which was certified in presence of Parliament (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 79; Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 16).

P. 169, *n.* 39. An account of this 'apparition' is appended to 'Some Predictions or Prophesies,' printed in 1739.

P. 171, *n.* 40. The reference is, no doubt, to that *Collection of Confessions of Faith*, etc., still prized for the accuracy of its texts and usually known as *Dunlop's Confessions*. The first volume was published in 1719,

and the second in 1722. William Dunlop died in October 1720. Some people were dissatisfied with his preface (Lee's *Lectures*, i. 147, 148), and many were displeased with the *Collection* because of its omissions. There was a discussion in the Assembly of 1725, over a proposal of the Synods of Fife and Stirling that, unless the Solemn League and Covenant, and the Act of Assembly of 1647 explaining the *Westminster Confession* were inserted, the Church should disclaim responsibility for the *Collection*. The omitted documents might have been inserted in the projected third volume, but that volume never saw the light. In 1725, however, the favourers of the Covenanted Reformation, stepping into the breach, issued a volume containing the omitted documents and many more. This one-volume collection has gone through several editions.

P. 171, *n.* 41. *Supra*, i. 115.

P. 174, *n.* 42. Andrew Harley's 'Letter from a certain person in the city to his friend in the country, wherein some of the false calumnies cast upon the Truth and Witnesses by Patrick Walker are vindicated,' was printed in 1727, and was reprinted in 1827 in the appendix to *Biographia Presbyteriana*. The charge to which Patrick here replies is quoted *supra*, ii. 125, *n.* 28.

P. 175, *n.* 43. Livingstone's last communion at Ancrum was on the 12th of October 1662. He says himself that the attendance was greater than on any previous occasion (*Select Biographies*, Wodrow Society, i. 189).

NOTES TO SEMPLE, WELWOOD, AND CAMERON

P. 181, *n.* 1. One who did not esteem John Semple says that he 'was ordinarily called *Fitch-cape* and *Claw-poll*' (*Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, 1692, p. 99).

P. 181, *n.* 2. As the crow flies, Carsphairn is seventeen miles from Sanquhar.

P. 182, *n.* 3. It was not a new plan to dispense the Lord's Supper on two consecutive Sabbaths. That plan had been adopted in St. Andrews in 1599 (*Register of St. Andrews Kirk Session*, ii. 884).

P. 183, *n.* 4. As the crow flies, Carsphairn is twenty-seven miles from Kirkcudbright.

P. 186, *n.* 5. When Charles the First was practically a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, he entered into a treaty or 'engagement' with the

Scots Commissioners, by which they undertook, on certain conditions, that a Scottish army should enter England on his behalf. This was on 26th December 1647. The text of 'the Engagement' is printed in S. R. Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, 1889, pp. 259-65. The consequent invasion, which terminated so disastrously in the following August, and which was under the command of the Duke of Hamilton, was also known as the Engagement.

P. 187, *n.* 6. According to Gilbert Burnet, 'the curses the ministers thundered against all who joined in this Engagement made the soldiers very heartless, being threatened with no less than damnation' (*Memoirs of James and William, Dukes of Hamilton and Castle-Herald*, 1852, p. 440).

P. 188, *n.* 7. The Duke of Hamilton was beheaded on the 9th of March 1649 (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iii. 391).

P. 188, *n.* 8. In one of his notes to *Old Mortality* Sir Walter quotes this prophecy, but attributes it to Gabriel, instead of John, Semple. In the same work he makes a prophet out of a much more unlikely subject, for he represents Claverhouse as saying at Tullietudlem, immediately after his defeat at Loudon Hill, but five years before his marriage, 'my marriage-bed is barren.'

P. 190, *n.* 9. Andrew Cant was successively minister of Alford, Pitsligo, Newbattle, and Aberdeen. 'He was the most active partisan of the Covenant in the north of Scotland, had powerful influence with the nobles who adhered to it, and always took the extreme view in ecclesiastical affairs.' He died in 1663, aged seventy-eight, and had been a minister for forty-eight years (Scott's *Fasti*, iii. 463). Of him Dr. M. Macdonald says :—'The Cavaliers have avenged themselves on their sturdy opponent, by handing his name down to posterity as a synonym for all that is insincere, hypocritical, and sanctimonious in speech—a gross injustice to the worthy man, than whom there was none more honest and single-minded among the public characters of the day' (*The Covenanters in Moray and Ross*, 1892, p. 13). Dr. Macdonald does not stand alone in his notion that the word 'cant' as a term of reproach was derived from the surname of 'the apostle of the Covenant in the north.' The notion, however, is erroneous. '*Cantare* and its Romanic representatives were used contemptuously in reference to church services as early as 1183'; while the word 'cant' has been traced back to the thirteenth century. The substantive 'and its accompanying verb presumably represent Latin *cantus* . . . but the details of the derivation and development of sense are unknown' (Murray's *New English Dictionary*). I venture to hazard the suggestion that it owes its origin to the signature of one or more of the Archbishops of Canterbury. Take good Matthew Parker for example.

He sometimes signed his letters as 'Matthæus Cantuariensis' (*Correspondence of Archbishop Parker*, Parker Society, p. 472), sometimes as 'Matth. Cantuar.' (*Ibid.* p. 185), and sometimes as 'Matth. Cant.' (*Ibid.* p. 270). What could be more natural than that the disaffected should irreverently appropriate the most abbreviated title of the head of the English hierarchy as a suitable synonym for hypocritical or affected talk? Patrick would not have used the word 'cant' as he does (*supra*, i. 156) if he had thought that it implied disrespect to an apostle of the Covenant. The famous Andrew Cant had two sons, Alexander and Andrew. Alexander, who became minister of Banchory-Ternan, was, like his father, a steadfast Covenanter, and was deprived shortly after the Restoration (Scott's *Fasti*, iii. 521, 522). On the other hand Andrew—souple Andrew—became minister of Liberton in 1659 (*Ibid.* i. 115), was translated to Trinity College Church in Edinburgh in 1673 (*Ibid.* i. 32), from which he was translated in 1675 to the High Church, with which he held the Principality of the University in conjunction, and died in 1685 (*Ibid.* i. 27). Another Andrew, the son of Alexander of Banchory-Ternan, was licensed by the Bishop of Edinburgh in 1670, and admitted next year to the second charge of South Leith (*Ibid.* i. 106). In 1679 he became minister of Trinity College Church, Edinburgh, was deprived after the Revolution, was consecrated as a bishop in 1722, and died in 1730 (*Ibid.* i. 32).

P. 190, *n.* 10. By the *ordinary* is meant the passage which, in the ordinary course of reading the Scriptures at family worship, fell to be read on this particular occasion.

P. 193, *n.* 11. This anecdote is told with a little more fulness in *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, 1692, p. 98, an authority for which Patrick had not much respect (*supra*, i. 201).

P. 195, *n.* 12. Sir Walter makes douce Davie Deans repeat this story and affirm that he was one of those who had a hold of the rope.

P. 196, *n.* 13. 'Fair weather cometh out of the north' (Job xxxvii. 22).

P. 201, *n.* 14. The passage which Patrick here abbreviates is in *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, 1692, pp. 98, 99.

P. 202, *n.* 15. Semple became minister of Carsphairn in 1646. His imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle was almost immediately after the Restoration; and in December 1666 he had the honourable distinction of being included in the list of rebels (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 705); but this distinction he at once repudiated, as he had been living peaceably for fifteen months at Currie and was then sixty-four years of age (Wodrow's *History*, ii. 36). This 'worthy man of God . . . fell under no small eclipse in his latter days through his closing with that fatall indulgence' (John Dick's *Testimony*, p. 37). He was summoned to appear before the

Privy Council in 1677, and in that year he seems to have died (Wodrow's *History*, ii. 347, 348).

P. 203, *n.* 1. The commission for erecting a High Commission Court in Scotland, dated 16th January 1664, is printed in Wodrow's *History*, i. 384-86. As a left-handed compliment to Sharp this court was by many termed 'the Crail Court.'

P. 205, *n.* 2. *their* seems here to be a misprint for *thir*, that is, *these*.

P. 205, *n.* 3. James Welwood took the degree of M.A. at St. Andrews in 1626, and was schoolmaster of Errol from 1630 to 1651. If Scott is correct in his dates, he can only have been minister of Tundergarth for three years before he was deprived in 1662. He was twice married (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 661, 662).

P. 205, *n.* 4. In the beautiful passage in the *Heart of Mid-Lothian*, where David Deans speaks of his wife's death to Reuben Butler, Sir Walter makes him attribute this saying about 'the banks of Ulai' to 'the worthy John Semple, called Carspharn John,' instead of James Welwood. The same error is repeated by Sir Walter in the relative note.

P. 206, *n.* 1. In the 1727 edition Welwood's Christian name is here misprinted *James*.

P. 206, *n.* 2. In 1734, Thomas Lumisden and John Robertson printed, in Edinburgh, an edition of the 'Meditations, representing a Glimpse of Glory; or a Gospel-Discovery of Emmanuel's Land. Whereunto is subjoined a spiritual hymn, intituled The Dying Saint's Song; and some of his last letters. By Mr. Andrew Welwood, brother to Mr. John Welwood, late minister of the Gospel in Scotland.' Another edition of the *Glimpse of Glory* was printed at Edinburgh in 1774 'in the Bull-close opposite to the Tron-church.'

P. 206, *n.* 3. James Welwood, physician, also suffered during the persecution. His *Memoirs of Transactions in England* have gone through several editions.

P. 206, *n.* 4. 'November 1st [1677] Mr. John Welwood is informed against, as having intruded upon the kirk of Tarbolton in the shire of Ayr; and the Council appoint the Earl of Glencairn and the Lord Ross to see that he be turned out and apprehended' (Wodrow's *History*, ii. 357).

P. 206, *n.* 5. This sermon has been several times printed with Patrick Gillespie's 'Rulers' Sins the Causes of National Judgements.' They appeared together in a quarto edition in 1711. John Howie included four of Welwood's sermons, one of them being the Bogle's-hole sermon, in his *Collection of Lectures and Sermons*, printed in 1779.

P. 208, *n.* 6. Saddletree recommended Mr. Crossmyloof, the advocate, to David Deans as 'weel ken'd for a round-spun Presbyterian.'

P. 208, *n.* 7. Wodrow gives an account of this meeting in his *History*, ii. 346. Patrick's story about Blackader is evidently drawn from p. 21 of M'Ward's *Earnest Contendings for the Faith*, printed in 1723. It was edited by 'John M'Main, school-master at the foot of Libertoun's Wynd in Cowgate, Edinburgh.' The copy for the press was 'carefully written and diligently compared by zealous John Goodal and his sons.'

P. 209, *n.* 8. Boulter-hall is near the south-west extremity of the parish of Forgan, and not far from St. Fort railway station. The text is in 1 Cor. i. 26.

P. 210, *n.* 9. Moses said, 'If these men die the common death of all men, or if they be visited after the visitation of all men, then the Lord hath not sent me' (Numbers xvi. 29).

P. 211, *n.* 10. James Guthrie is said to have had leanings to Prelacy and the ceremonies when he was a regent in St. Andrews University (Wodrow's *Analecta*, ii. 158; iii. 92). He suffered martyrdom at Edinburgh on the 1st of June 1661. One of Sharp's apologists says:—'I am credibly informed that the contrivers of that horrid assassination were so full of it that some of them could scarce keep their own secret; which one of their teachers, some while before the murder, thus blabbed out in rhyme:—

'If Sharp do die the common death of men,
I'll burn my books, and throw away my pen.'

(*True and Impartial Account of James Sharp*, 1723, pp. xxxiv, xxxv).

P. 211, *n.* 11. *Supra*, i. 50-52.

P. 212, *n.* 12. Patrick is by no means the only writer who has mentioned this terrible charge against Sharp. It is told in the most minute detail in the *Life of Mr. James Sharp*, 1719, pp. 27-35. In 'A True and Impartial Account of the Life of the Most Reverend Father in God Dr. James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews. . . . Printed in the year M.DCC.XXIII,' this story is described (pp. l, li) as 'a most malicious, hellish, and devilish calumny.' A much more elaborate attempt to vindicate the archbishop from aspersions of all kinds was made by Thomas Stephen, in his *Life and Times of Sharp*, printed in 1839.

P. 212, *n.* 13. The work to which Patrick here refers is apparently 'The Life of Mr. James Sharp from his birth to his instalment in the Archbishoprick of St. Andrews. Written in the time of his life. With a short digression touching the rise and progress of Mr. Andrew Honyman, Bishop of Orkney. With an appendix containing an account of some of Mr. Sharp's actions during the time of his being Archbishop: and the manner and circumstances of his death by one of the persons concern'd in it. Printed in the year M.DCC.XIX.' The account of Sharp's death has been borrowed from De Foe's *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*,

1717, Part III., pp. 206-210. The *Life* is dedicated to Sharp himself. It is, with the appendix, reprinted in *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. ii., and on the title there given it is said to have been 'first printed in MDCLXXVIII,' that is a year before his death. There is another and shorter entitled, 'Life and Transactions of James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews. . . . Edinburgh: Printed and sold at the printing house West Bow M.DCC.LXXXII.'

P. 212, *n.* 14. On the 16th of September 1684 the Privy Council empowered the Committee for Public Affairs to convene certain prisoners before them, and if any of these prisoners refuse, *inter alia*, to call 'the archbishop's murder a murder,' to remit them to the justices to be tried criminally (Wodrow's *History*, iv. 35). See *infra*, p. 191, *n.* 96.

P. 212, *n.* 15. 'The Prelatical Council of Scotland caused hang five men in Magus Moor, where the Bishop was cut off, to appease his manes, though never one of them had seen a bishop' (*Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, 1693, p. 37). The first edition of 'Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Christ,' was 'printed in the year 1667.' *Naphtali* proper was written by James Stirling, and the preface by Sir James Stuart. The testimonies of the five Bothwell Bridge prisoners, who were taken to Magus Muir and there hanged, are usually bound up with the second edition of *Naphtali* (1680) and are appended to the subsequent editions. The third edition was printed in 1693. A translation in Dutch was printed in 1668.

P. 214, *n.* 16. Patrick would probably have pointed out another coincidence if he had known of it. Cardinal Beaton was also done to death on a Saturday.

P. 214, *n.* 17. 'On the very day of the Bishop's fall some of their booted apostles shot a young gentleman named Aiton in a cowardly manner, though he was neither chargeable with that nor anything else that could warrant them to kill him in law' (*Answer to Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, 1693, p. 37).

P. 215, *n.* 18. This paragraph is substantially the same as one recorded by Wodrow in 1708, under the title, 'A Prophesie of Mr. John Walwood, which he forsau a litle before his death' (Wodrow's *Analecta*, i. 132).

P. 217, *n.* 19. Alexander Pitcairn was minister of Dron from 1656, and though deprived in 1662 was allowed to remain, through the connivance, it is said, of Bishop Leighton, until 1680 or 1681. He was restored to his charge in 1690, and was afterwards promoted to be Principal of St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews, where in his younger days he had been a regent (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 630, 631).

P. 217, *n.* 20. See *supra*, i. 97. Peden was not the only Covenanter

to be exhumed. 'The said Graham of Claver-house shot Robert Stuart, John Grier, Robert Ferguson, and another, at the river Dee in Galloway, Dec. 1684, and by his order they were again raised out of their graves' (*Answer to Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, 1693, p. 24). *Cf.* Wodrow's *History*, iv. 177.

P. 217, *n.* 21. *Supra*, i. 212.

P. 217, *n.* 22. *Near* acquaintances is probably a misprint for *dear* acquaintances.

P. 218, *n.* 1. The date of Cameron's birth is unknown. He was the eldest son of Allan Cameron and Margaret Paterson. This Allan Cameron was a burgess of Falkland, and general merchant there, and had other two sons—Michael and Alexander (Herkless's *Richard Cameron*, pp. 23-25).

P. 218, *n.* 2. Cameron matriculated in St. Andrews University on the 5th of March 1662, and obtained the degree of M.A. on the 22nd of July 1665. He had ceased to be precentor at Falkland by the 29th of March 1674, the office being vacant at that date (*Ibid.* pp. 27, 28, 38, 39). Mr. Downie holds that, if Cameron was schoolmaster and precentor there, 'he must have been so before 1673 or even 1671' (*Early Home of Richard Cameron*, 1901, p. 10).

P. 218, *n.* 3. There was a George Mair who was minister of the second charge of Culross from 1698 to 1714, and of Tulliallan from 1714 to 1716 (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 588, 743). Boston describes him in the same words as Patrick does—'the worthy Mr. George Mair' (Boston's *Memoirs*, 1805, p. 33). He had a son George who was minister of New Deer from 1722 to 1736 (Scott's *Fasti*, iii. 632).

P. 219, *n.* 4. 'This was a general observe that never failed, that no sooner did any poor soul come to get a serious sense of religion, and was brought under any real exercise of spirit about their soul's concerns, but as soon they did fall out with Prelacy and left the curats' (*Hind let Loose*, 1687, p. 118). This was the experience of Boston in his own case, and he says :—'It was the common observation in these days, that whenever one turned serious about his soul's state and case he left them,' *i.e.* the Episcopalians (*Memoirs of Thomas Boston*, 1805, p. 7).

P. 219, *n.* 5. In 1683, Sir William Scot of Harden was fined £46,000 Scots, for his own and his wife's irregularities in the matter of church attendance. He complained to the Privy Council, with the result that his fine was modified to £1500 sterling (Wodrow's *History*, iii. 447 ; Fountainhall's *Historical Observes*, i. 449, 450 ; ii. 462, 463). This judgment was sustained by the king in his Scots Council at London. The Marquis of Halifax argued, but in vain, that it was unreasonable 'to put it in a capricious wife's power by her delicts to expose hir husband's

estate to ruine by fyning him for hir transgressions.' Fountainhall thought the case was all the harder, seeing, by the Scots law, her oath would not bind five merks of debt on her husband; 'and yet hir contumacy in absenting hir selfe from church, and running to conventicles, shall expose him to imprisonment till he pay 27,000 merks for hir' (*Historical Observes*, ii. 495).

P. 220, *n.* 6. This passage is quoted by Sir Walter Scott in his remarks on the religion of the Borderers, in the introduction to the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*.

P. 220, *n.* 7. *Supra*, i. 208.

P. 220, *n.* 8. For a critical *résumé* of the action of these meetings towards Cameron, see Herkless's *Richard Cameron*, pp. 70-77.

P. 220, *n.* 9. *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, p. 155.

P. 221, *n.* 10. Professor Herkless holds that Patrick Walker is in error in saying that Cameron promised to abstain for a period from preaching against the indulgence (*Richard Cameron*, pp. 75, 77).

P. 221, *n.* 11. The Abjuration Oath was thus wound up:—'And I do make this recognition and promise heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian. So help me God' (*The Wodrow Correspondence*, i. 154, *n.*).

P. 222, *n.* 12. The form of the Abjuration Oath was altered by Parliament in 1719 (*The Wodrow Correspondence*, ii. 429, 430).

P. 222, *n.* 13. The precise date of Cameron's visit to Holland is uncertain. Wodrow says he went there 'before Bothwell' (*History of the Sufferings*, iii. 220). When Ure of Shargarton reached Rutherglen on the 8th of June 1679, he expected to find Cameron there, but was told that he was then in Holland (M'Crie's *Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson*, p. 457). Professor Herkless holds that he did not leave Scotland until 'somewhere about May 1679' (*Richard Cameron*, p. 79).

P. 223, *n.* 14. MacWard says that, before Cameron went to Holland, it was commonly reported there 'that not only he did preach nothing but bable against the indulgence; but that he could do no other thing.' When he got there it was found that he was 'a man of a savory gospel-spirit, the byass of his heart lying towards the proposing of Christ, and perswading to a closing with him' (*Earnest Contendings*, 1723, p. 156).

P. 224, *n.* 15. Wodrow's account of 'the short-lived third indulgence' and of its acceptance is in his *History of the Sufferings*, iii. 149-53. The full title of *The Banders Disbanded* extends to more than a hundred and fifty words, although the work is only a quarto pamphlet of 53 pages. Patrick Walker is certainly in error in ascribing it to Brown. It is evident that he did not possess a copy, since he says the 'book is extant in the hands of some,' and since he also says that 'M'Ward wrote

the preface.' Brown did not live long enough to write this pamphlet, and it does not have a preface. M'Main is no doubt right in saying that it was written by MacWard (*Earnest Contendings*, p. ix.). It was first printed in 1681, and was reprinted in 1805. My friend the Rev. John Sturrock, of Victoria Terrace Original Secession Church, Edinburgh, has a copy in MS., which seemed to me, when I examined it carefully thirteen years ago, to be the original corrected MS. Patrick refers again to the third indulgence and *The Banders Disbanded* (*supra*, i. 310; ii. 18).

P. 224, *n.* 16. King and Kid were cited not on fifteen days' but on forty-eight hours' notice; and were sentenced, on the 28th of July 1679, 'to be hanged on the 14 of August theirafter, and being dead, their heads and right hands to be cut off and put upon the Netherboll-port, besyde Mr. James Guthrie's' (Fountainhall's *Historical Observes*, i. 228). Their dying speeches are appended to the 1680 and subsequent editions of *Naphtali*. They were also printed in a somewhat abridged form as a quarto pamphlet in 1680.

P. 225, *n.* 17. See *supra*, i. 235, 236. 'Among the latest public acts of Mr. Brown may be mentioned the ordination of the famous Mr. Richard Cameron, which took place in the Scottish Church, Rotterdam, in the year 1679; Messrs. MacWard and Koelman assisting' (Steven's *Scottish Church in Rotterdam*, p. 73, *n.*).

P. 225, *n.* 18. Patrick is certainly wrong with this date. After his return to Scotland, Cameron wrote to MacWard from Edinburgh on the 30th of October 1679, telling him that he had consulted Hog and Dickson about going to the fields, and found them both opposed to it on account of the hazard. He says:—'This is the greatest strait and sharpest trial I ever yet met with, for their arguments do not satisfy my conscience' (*The Bass Rock*, 1848, pp. 343, 344). Patrick afterwards says (ii. 110) that Cameron returned to Scotland 'in the end of 1679.'

P. 226, *n.* 19. MacWard's letter here referred to is printed in the *Earnest Contendings*, pp. 331-68. The fast at Darmede was held in April 1680, the one at Auchingilloch in May of the same year (*Ibid.* p. 357, *n.*). James Robertson, who suffered in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh on the 15th of December 1682, refers with satisfaction, in his dying testimony, to the fast at Auchingilloch (*Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, p. 167).

P. 226, *n.* 20. According to Sheilds, Renwick 'commenced his ministerial work in Scotland' in September 1683 (*Life of Renwick*, 1724, p. 31). 'His first publick meeting was in the remotest recess they could find, most convenient for safety and secrecy, for fear of the enemies, viz. in a moss at Darmead' (*Ibid.* p. 34). This meeting was held on the 3rd of October 1683 (*Faithful Contendings Displayed*, 1780, p. 104).

P. 226, *n.* 21. *Naphtali*, 1680, app. p. 38.

P. 227, *n.* 22. *Supra*, i. 215.

P. 228, *n.* 23. By 'Mr. H. E.' Patrick means Henry Erskine (father of the more famous Ebenezer and Ralph), who endured much for his religion, but who, under the Toleration of 1687, became minister of Whitsome until the Revolution (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 451). This was how he put his feet 'out of the theats.' Nevertheless it was his preaching in the Newton of Whitsome which awakened Thomas Boston, then in his twelfth year, and brought him under exercise concerning the state of his soul (Boston's *Memoirs*, 1805, p. 7).

P. 228, *n.* 24. James the Seventh was not crowned in Scotland. Nearly the whole of passage 9, in almost the same words, is appended, as a 'Prediction by Mr. Richard Cameron,' to the 1739 (Glasgow) edition of *The Lord's Trumpet*. In the 'Prediction' there are a few alterations which are not improvements. 'A breakfast or four-hours' becomes 'a breakfast, some hour or another'; and an impossible date is given.

P. 229, *n.* 25. *Supra*, i. 220, 221.

P. 229, *n.* 26. Patrick has drawn this anecdote concerning Robert Bruce from *Scripture Truth Confirmed and Cleared*, 1678, p. 159.

P. 230, *n.* 27. Patrick has also drawn this other anecdote concerning Bruce from the same page of the same work.

P. 230, *n.* 28. *Cf.* with the expression in Peden's letter to the Dunnottar prisoners, *supra*, i. 114. Wodrow has preserved what he calls 'some of the last words of Mr. Richard Cameron, which he spoke in a sermon delivered by him near to the water of Ken in Galloway.' His paragraph begins thus:—'He told his hearers that that was the last day he would preach in the world, and that he had finished that part of his work his Lord and Master had put in his hand! And soe it came to passe.' The sayings quoted by Wodrow do not resemble those which Patrick connected with the Kype Ridge preaching, but coincide in some points with those which he associates with the earlier service at the Grass-water (Wodrow's *Analecta*, i. 133, 134; *supra*, i. 228, 229). Wodrow's version is almost exactly the same as that given in 'Some Predictions or Prophesies,' printed in 1739. In that tract the sermon is said to have been preached 'near to the Water of Renen in Galloway.' Cameron's sermon at Kype Water is included in Howie's *Collection*, printed in 1779.

P. 230, *n.* 29. The 20th of July 1680 is given by Wodrow as the date of the encounter at Ayrsmoss (*History of the Sufferings*, iii. 219); that date is also given on the tombstone at Ayrsmoss (Thomson's *Martyr Graves of Scotland*, first series, p. 273); and Professor Herkless speaks of the preceding day as Wednesday the 19th of July (*Richard Cameron*,

p. 139). They are wrong. Sheilds gives the correct date, the 22nd of July (*Hind let Loose*, 1687, p. 137). He is proved to be correct in this by Hackston of Rathillet's letter, in which the encounter is said to have taken place on Thursday (*Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, p. 28). It is absolutely certain that the 22nd of July fell on a Thursday. Patrick is correct, for he says (*supra*, i. 218) it was on the 22nd of July.

P. 232, *n.* 30. John Potter and Archibald Stewart suffered at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 1st of December 1680. Their testimonies are in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, pp. 65-77. Potter is described as 'a farmer who lived in the parish of Uphall in West Lothean.'

P. 232, *n.* 31. Wodrow's estimate of the number of the Covenanters is the same as Patrick's—'twenty-three horse and forty foot.' Patrick has misunderstood Wodrow's statement as to the loss they sustained. When he says 'very few of them who engaged escaped,' he is referring to the horsemen. He expressly says: 'the foot received little or no hurt, retiring into the moss, whither the soldiers could not follow.' He was certain that nine were slain, but thought that there were more; and names three who were taken prisoners whom Patrick omits (*History of the Sufferings*, iii. 219-21).

P. 233, *n.* 32. *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, pp. 26-33.

P. 233, *n.* 33. The barbarous cruelty with which Hackston was executed is detailed in the preface to the *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, pp. xiii, xiv, and in Wodrow's *History*, iii. 223. Fountainhall mentions that he was executed on the day on which he was sentenced, the 30th of July 1680 (*Historical Notices*, i. 270); and explains that 'our old Scots way of quartering was only the cutting of the legs and the armes (as was done with the great Montrose), but did not divide the body, which severe practise we have only of late, since Rathillet's case, borrowed from the customes of England, whom we doe not imitate in manie better things' (*Historical Observes*, p. 192). Wodrow tells that Pollock was tortured, and endured it with firmness and cheerfulness; but confesses that he knew no more about him.

P. 234, *n.* 34. The tombstone at Ayrsmoss was erected in 1702 (Thomson's *Martyr Graves of Scotland*, first series, pp. 272, 273).

P. 234, *n.* 35. 'Allan Cameron [*i.e.* Richard's father], as appears from letters among the Wodrow MSS., was in the habit of holding conventicles in his house in Falkland, and for this breach of the law he was seized by the town-major on the 25th of August 1678. After a trial, he was sentenced to pay a fine of a hundred merks. This fine he would not pay, in spite of the advice of his friends, preferring to remain a prisoner' (Herkless's *Richard Cameron*, pp. 79, 80).

NOTES TO VINDICATION OF CAMERON'S NAME

P. 237, *n.* 1. The tune called the 'Cameronian Rant,' and sometimes 'The Cameron's March,' and sometimes 'The Cameronians' Rant or Reel,' is in Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*, No. 282.

P. 237, *n.* 2. The best account of the origin of the Cameronian Regiment, otherwise Angus's Regiment, is in *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, 1780, pp. 390-404.

P. 238, *n.* 3. Claverhouse fell at Killiecrankie on the 27th of July 1689. The defeat of the Highlanders to which Patrick refers is that inflicted at Perth on Colonel Cannon by General Mackay.

P. 239, *n.* 4. Patrick does not seem to have written the account to which he here refers. The story of the defence of Dunkeld is told in Crichton's *Life and Diary of Lieut.-Col. Blackader*, 1824, pp. 88-105; and in Carter's *Historical Record of the Twenty-sixth or Cameronian Regiment*, 1867, pp. 7-14.

P. 240, *n.* 5. Knox's own account of this interview with Queen Mary, at the time of the proposed Don Carlos match, is in Laing's *Knox*, ii. 387-89.

P. 241, *n.* 6. In a note to the *Heart o, Mid-Lothian*, Sir Walter ntimates that he borrowed part of David Deans's tirade against dancing rom this passage, and in the note he quotes the two paragraphs from Patrick *in extenso*.

P. 241, *n.* 7. The pamphlet to which Patrick here refers, a small quarto of 80 pp., bears the striking title:—'A Proper Project for Scotland, to startle fools and frighten knaves, but to make wise-men happy: Being a safe and easy remedy to cure our fears and ease our minds. With the undoubted causes of God's Wrath and of the present National Calamities. By a person neither unreasonably Cameronian, nor excessively Laodicean and idolizer of moderation; but, *entre deus* [sic], avoiding extreams on either hand: that is, a good, honest, sound Presbyterian, a throw-pac'd, true-blue Loyallist; for God, King and Countrey; and why not for Co . . . . . t too? Printed in a land where self's cry'd up, and zeal's cry'd down; and therefore in a time of spiritual plagues and temporal judgments. Anno Dom. 1699.' In my copy of this tract there is a note, in an old hand, bearing that Alexander Sheilds 'is thought to be the author.' In the absence of definite information it may perhaps be ascribed to George Ridpath or John Anderson.

P. 241, *n.* 8. By the *Scots Memoirs* Patrick means De Foe's *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland* (see *supra*, i. 296), and the passage to which he refers is to be found in the 1717 edition, Part III., p. 174, where, after speaking of the Indulgence, the origin of the name 'whiggs,' and the beginning of field-conventicles, De Foe says:—'At the same period also, the people frequenting these meetings, or field-preachings, were first call'd *Cameronians*, from one Mr. Cameron, a zealous assertor of the sovereignty of conscience over the laws of men.'

P. 241, *n.* 9. 'This Highland Host quartered and exacted contributions at pleasure till they forced the Cameronians to a new insurrection in May 1679' (*Memoirs of John Ker of Kersland*, 1726, p. 3). Ker was not the first to imply that the term Cameronian was in use before Bothwell Bridge. Peter Grant (see *infra*, *n.* 11), speaking of the controversies in 1677 and 1678, says the Indulged gave 'by-names to all these who were against the supremacy and indulgency, calling them Cameronians' (*The Nonconformists' Vindication*, 1700, p. 16). In a still earlier work, Robert Hamilton and his faction, at Bothwell Bridge, are said to have been 'called by the distinguishing name of Cameronians' (*Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, 1693, p. 37).

P. 241, *n.* 10. 'Some of the Presbyterians called Cargillites from one Cargill that had been one of the ministers of Glasgow' (Burnet's *History of his Own Time*, 1823, ii. 293). Fountainhall calls Mr. John Dick 'a Carguellian' (*Historical Notices*, i. 452).

P. 241, *n.* 11. In the quarto pamphlet bearing the title 'An Bond of Union wherein the Land's sins and defections are discovered and witnessed against, also Truth vindicated and the Land's duty espoused. . . . Printed in the year M.DCC.XIV.,' and which is attributed to Peter Grant (*supra*, ii. 124, *n.* 26), the author's party is described as 'a few mean insignificant people.' They seem to have been very few indeed. At that time they are said to have numbered 'at most 3 men and 3 women'; and ten years later they could 'scarce double that number of men and women, for they are not all married (tho' some of them marry without a minister), and these who are have not all wives of their own opinions' (*Confutation of a Scandalous Pamphlet*, 1724, pp. 23, 24). Grant is said to have been 'an impotent antagonist unto that pious, painful and faithful minister and martyr of Jesus Christ, Mr. James Renwick and his followers' (*Ibid.* p. 15). He is also said to have been the author of a 'Letter to a Friend, printed 1716.' Since my earlier note (*supra*, ii. 124) was put in type, I have seen copies of the *Bond of Union* and the *Letter to a Friend*. In the *Bond of Union*, Grant's party reject the king and those associated with him in the government, disown the British Parliament, 'rescind and annull' the acts and laws 'for imposeing of cesses

and impositions on our lands, for maintaining their unlawful wars, and superstition and idolatry on the Church.' In their opinion, they had not discharged their duty by simply divesting 'the present persons in authority of their usurped power'; but they proceed, 'our will, inclinations, and intentions are to change the form of government that has been in this land by monarchie,' and 'to set up a common-wealth government, the form and fabrick of which is a little touched at in the *Smoaking-Flax*.' They also declare:—'If we shall be pursued or troubled any furder in our worshipping, rights and liberties, that we shall look on it as a declaring war, and take all the advantages that one enemy doth of another, and seek to cause to perish all that shall assault us, and to maintain, relieve and right ourselves of these that now wrong us; but not to trouble nor injure any but these that hath injured us.' Towards the close, it is explained that, in the meantime, they are only to exercise authority within their 'own corporation,' and 'must wait the Lord's time' until He give them 'power to exercise it in its full extent over the adversary.' The pamphlet deals with ecclesiastical as well as civil matters, and, *inter alia*, testifies 'against the defective steps and sentiments of the Dissenting party.' Grant was also the author of a quarto pamphlet entitled:—'The Nonconformists' Vindication, or a Testimony given against the Indulged Assembly of Separatists: wherein the false calumnies and aspersions cast upon the suffering Presbyterians are answered and confuted. Also the Heads and Causes of Separation are opened and explained, together with an illustration of the Erastian state of the present Church. . . . Printed in the year 1700.' One edition of this pamphlet is anonymous, but another has on the title-page—'By Mr. Patrick Grant.'

P. 242, *n.* 12. Andrew Harley bitterly resented the idea that he and his disciples were 'led by the spirit of the Quakers, and that vile person John Gibb.' He also resented Patrick's description of his sermon, and retaliated by saying:—'He is a most impudent person to pretend to know what passed that day, for the most part of the whole time he had a most unseemly and indecent carriage by sotting and sleeping like one intoxicate with drink, till those that came with him were ashamed of him, and the report going of him of his being drunk at times gives the more ground to suspect' (*Letter* in *Biographia Presbyteriana*, 1827, i. 342). It is no wonder, perhaps, that Patrick angrily spoke of Harley's *Letter* as 'that malicious, slanderous, wicked pamphlet, stuft with gross lies' (*supra*, i. 174). In giving 'a short swatch' of his negative creed to Arbuckle, Allan Ramsay says:—

> 'Nor can believe, ant 's nae great ferly,
> In Cotmoor fouk, and Andrew Harley.'

In a foot-note it is explained that the *Cotmoor-fouk* consisted of 'a family or two who had a particular religion of their own,' and 'were pleased with ministers of no kind.' It is added that 'Andrew Harley, a dull fellow of no education, was head of the party' (*Poems of Allan Ramsay*, 1814, i. 209). For Wodrow's opinion of the Cotmoor-folk, see *supra*, ii. 149, *n.* 3.

P. 242, *n.* 13. See *supra*, ii. 124, *n.* 26; ii. 167, *n.* 11.

P. 243, *n.* 14. In July 1713 Wodrow refers to Adamson's preaching against both Jurants and Non-Jurants (*The Wodrow Correspondence*, i. 481, 482), and in August says that since June he had 'made a great noise' in the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, and was very popular through declaiming against the Union, Patronage, Toleration, and the Oath of Abjuration. The 'extract of his license' was stopped. He and Hepburn met; 'but when he had noe testimonialls nor any license Mr. Hepburn would doe nothing' (Wodrow's *Analecta*, ii. 242-44). By November, Wodrow had learned that he 'setts up upon a foot distinct from Mr. Hepburn and Mr. M'Millan both, and preaches doun Mr. M'Millan for his disouning the civil government' (*Ibid.* ii. 263). In July 1714, Wodrow writes:—'Mr. Adamson is raging like a madman in his sermons in Hamiltoun, Lanerk, and Air Presbytery; and rails against ministers and government. He is soe violent he cannot continou long' (*Ibid.* ii. 285). His irregularities came before the Assembly in 1715 (*supra*, ii. 126, *n.* 32). Two at least of his sermons have been printed. 'Christ's Burial Solemnized, with an eye to his Resurrection. Being a sermon preached at the Sacrament of Dalzel, in the year 1713. . . . By Mr. John Adamson preacher of the Gospel.' Quarto, 24 pp., *s. d. et l.* The other is:—'An Alarming Sound to Sinfull Sleepers. Being a sermon preached in the paroch of Rhind, at the time of General Apostacy from God, and now published to bring to remembrance. . . . By Mr. John Adamson preacher of the Gospel. . . . Printed in the year 1715.' Quarto, 20 pp. He also published a controversial pamphlet:—'Contendings for the Kingdom of Light, against the Kingdom of Darkness. Being a copy of a true Dispute betwixt Mr. John Steel at Comnock, and Mr. John Adamson, Preacher of the Gospel, about the Grounds of Separation from the present Church; to which is added some Remarks upon a Counterfit Dispute come forth under that name. . . . Edinburgh, Printed in the year M.DCC.XV.' Quarto, 33 pp.

P. 245, *n.* 15. In May 1723 Wodrow writes:—'The excommunicated Mr. Adamson has lately married himself to a farmer's daughter there [*i.e.* Carnock], and the Synod of Fife ordered a paper to be intimat out of all the pulpites, signifying his excommunication.' After the precentor read this paper in Carnock church, the minister, Mr. James Hog, supple-

mented it; but one of his elders rose and contradicted him as to the facts, and in doing so was backed up by two of the people (Wodrow's *Analecta*, ii. 377).

P. 245, *n.* 16. James Bathgate was minister of Orwell from March 1717 until he died, at the age of thirty-nine, on 30th March 1724 (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 600). He was one of the twelve Marrow-men who subscribed the 'Representation and Petition' in 1721, and one of the eleven who subscribed the 'Protestation' in 1722 (*supra*, ii. 121, *n.* 10). 'An Elegy on the much lamented death of the Reverend Mr. James Bathgate,' with a heavy black mourning-border, was printed in 1724.

P. 245, *n.* 17. *Supra*, ii. 152, *n.* 19.

P. 246, *n.* 18. *Supra*, ii. 121, *n.* 10.

P. 246, *n.* 19. John (not James) Taylor had become minister of Wamphray in 1697. His successor in that charge, Gabriel Gullan, was ordained in September 1717 under military protection. Taylor died in 1745, 'having survived all those who shared in his prosecution' (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 664, 665). He has been previously mentioned (*supra*, ii. 126, *n.* 32). He was suspended on the 25th of January, and deposed on the 15th of April 1715. 'The presbytery of Protesting ministers and elders,' which 'recognosced' his process, was held at Wamphray Kirk on the 8th of June 1715. Many of the details of his case may be learned from a pamphlet entitled:—'A Vindication of Mr. John Taylor, minister of the Gospel at Wamphray, from the false accusations and unjust sentences charged on and past against him by the pretended Presbytery of Lochmaban and Synod of Dumfreis. . . . Printed in the year 1717.' See also 'Mr. Taylor's Case stated, or a Just Reply to a book intituled, A Vindication of Mr. John Taylor minister of Wamfray . . . . Drumfries, printed by Robert Rae, in the year MDCCXVIII.'

P. 246, *n.* 20. *Supra*, ii. 121, *n.* 10.

P. 246, *n.* 21. James Hog became minister of Dalserf in 1691 (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 279), and of Carnock in 1699. He was one of the leading Marrow-men, and died in 1734 (*Ibid.* ii. 579, 580). He and James Bathgate gave in, to the Presbytery of Dunfermline, 'Reasons' for not observing the thanksgiving appointed by the King. In April 1724 the Synod of Fife, to whom the 'Reasons' had been referred, declared Hog censurable for not observing it. Bathgate died before the Synod met.

P. 247, *n.* 22. *Supra*, ii. 125, *n.* 29; ii. 126, *n.* 32.

P. 247, *n.* 23. *Supra*, ii. 152, *n.* 19.

P. 247, *n.* 24. Gabriel Wilson read and explained his 'Answers' in the General Assembly on the 13th of May 1723 (*The Wodrow Correspondence*, iii. 47).

P. 248, *n.* 25. The scene described by Patrick occurred on the 21st

of May 1723 (*The Wodrow Correspondence*, iii. 53). Gabriel Wilson was again harshly dealt with by the Assembly in 1726, when his speech was cut short because, among other things, he said that the Commission of Assembly had betrayed the rights of the Christian people (*Ibid.* iii. 254). It is not surprising, perhaps, that he latterly 'adopted the principles of the Independents' (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 557).

P. 251, *n.* 26. The reference is not to his former preface, but to his 'short relation of the defections' (*supra*, i. 101-106).

P. 251, *n.* 27. William did not swear the Scottish coronation oath without scruple.

P. 252, *n.* 28. Patrick has here fallen into a double error. The Act mentioned was passed on the 7th February 1649 (not 1650); and Charles the Second was not present, but on the Continent.

P. 252, *n.* 29. Cf. *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, p. 388.

P. 252, *n.* 30. It was alleged that 'six or seven of the western rabble had undertaken to assassinate Dundee and Sir George Mackenzie; that Dundee informed the Duke of Hamilton, who was willing to make inquiry and secure the conspirators; but that the majority of the Convention 'absolutely refused to concern themselves with private affairs, (as this was called,) until those of greater concern were concerted' (Balcarres' *Memoirs*, Bannatyne Club, p. 29). The Convention did take action in the matter on the 16th of March 1689 (*Acts of Parliament*, xii. 48). Gilbert Rule affirms that when the accused were examined 'nothing could be found against them'; and states that Dundee's design 'was to have them who from the west were come to town, to oppose his party and guard the Convention, sent away, on pretence of his being unsafe among them,' that so he might compass his own design against the Convention (*Second Vindication*, 1691, p. 13).

P. 252, *n.* 31. From the *Minutes of the Convention* it appears that, on the 28th of March 1689, it was 'recommended to the bishops that in their prayers they insinuate nothing against the Acts [or] proceedings of the meetting' (*Acts of Parliament*, xii. 58). The first meeting of the Convention was held on the 14th of March, the last on the 24th of May 1689.

P. 254, *n.* 32. The Bow was the direct road from the Tolbooth to the place of execution in the Grassmarket.

P. 254, *n.* 33. On the 28th of March 1689 the Estates approved of the good services done by 'severall persones well affected to the Protestant religion at the dyet of the meeting of the said Estates,' who, having repaired to Edinburgh from the western shires, had 'demeaned themselves soberly and honestly, and been active and instrumentall to prevent tumults and to secure the peace and quiet of this meeting' (*Acts of Parliament*, ix. 23). In the Act settling Presbyterian Church-

government, Parliament, on the 7th of June 1690, virtually homologated the ousting of the curates, by declaring the churches of those removed before the 13th of April 1689 to be vacant (*Acts of Parliament*, ix. 134). See *infra*, p. 184, *n.* 43.

P. 255, *n.* 34. According to the official record, the first session of this Assembly was held on the 16th of October 1690, after sermons, 'in the forenoon by Mr. Gabriel Cuningham, moderator of the last General Meeting, and in the afternoon by Mr. Patrick Sympson, moderator of the preceding General Meeting' (*Acts of Assembly*). Cuningham had been minister of Dunlop from 1648 until 1664, when he was deprived for nonconformity. In 1672 he was 'indulged' in his own parish, but was afterwards put to the horn. He returned to the parish under the Toleration of 1687, and was restored by Parliament in 1690, but died in 1691 (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 166, 167).

P. 255, *n.* 35. Hugh Kennedy was admitted minister of Mid-Calder in 1643, and was a zealous Protestor. He was deposed in 1660. Under the Toleration of 1687 he returned to Mid-Calder (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 175). Shortly afterwards he was transferred to a meeting-house in Edinburgh, and in 1689 became minister of Trinity College Church there. As Moderator of the Assembly of 1690 he is said to have managed the business with great tact. He died in 1692 (*Ibid.* i. 32).

P. 255, *n.* 36. The Hamilton Declaration is in Wodrow's *History*, iii. 94, 95. For Sheilds's opinion of it, see *A Hind let Loose*, 1687, p. 126.

P. 256, *n.* 37. *Supra*, ii. 160, *n.* 19.

P. 256, *n.* 38. 'When God did again break the yoke of Prelatick tyranny and arbitrary power from off our necks, and allow us, under the protection of authority, to meet in a National Assembly; it might have been expected that the glorious work of Reformation, attained to in the former period from 1638 to 1650, should have been recognised; especially considering that many ministers and others who had seen the temple in its former glory were yet alive' (*A Testimony to the Doctrine, Worship, Government, and Discipline of the Church of Scotland*, 1734, p. 33). The Claim of Right (11th April 1689) was not drawn up by the Church, but by the Convention. Patrick is right in saying that the document laid great stress on the inclinations of the people (*Acts of Parliament*, ix. 40; xii. 65).

P. 257, *n.* 39. William Crichton was admitted minister of Bathgate by the Protestors in 1654, was removed by the Synod in 1660, returned under the Toleration in 1687 (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 167, 168), was translated to Falkirk (*Ibid.* i. 187), from which he was translated to the Tron Church, Edinburgh, and died in 1708 (*Ibid.* i. 56). He was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1692 and again in 1697.

P. 258, *n.* 40. Sir James Stuart wrote *Jus Populi Vindicatum* and the preface to *Naphtali*. He was Lord Advocate after the Revolution.

P. 258, *n.* 41. The application of Lining, Sheilds, and Boyd came before the General Assembly on the 25th of October 1690, through a report from the Committee of Overtures, from which report it appears that these three ministers had given in to the Committee two papers—a shorter and a longer one. In the shorter, say the Committee, 'the forenamed persons oblige themselves, after the exhibiting of the larger paper (which they offer, as they profess, for the exoneration of their consciences), and laying it down at the Assembly's feet to be disposed upon as the Assembly should think fit, that they shall in all required submission subject themselves, their lives and doctrine to the cognizance of the respective judicatories of this Church, and equally to oppose schism and defection in any capacity that they should be capable of.' The Committee recommended that the shorter paper should be read in the Assembly, and the three subscribers received into the Church; but judged the reading of the larger paper in the Assembly 'to be inconvenient, in regard that though there be several good things in it, yet the same doth also contain several peremptory and gross mistakes, unseasonable and impracticable proposals, and uncharitable and injurious reflections, tending rather to kindle contentions than to compose divisions.' The three subscribers having appeared before the Assembly and judicially owned and adhered to the shorter paper, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted (*Acts of Assembly*). The shorter paper is printed in the *Acts of Assembly*, and an abstract of the longer paper is inserted in the preface to Sheilds's *Life of Renwick*, and also as a footnote to the life of Sheilds in the *Scots Worthies*.

P. 259, *n.* 42. At a general meeting of the United Societies held at Douglas on the 4th of June 1690, five men—including James Wilson, Patrick Walker, William M'Neil, and Michael Sheilds—were appointed to draw up a paper containing a representation of grievances and a protestation against defections. This was done because it was understood that there was soon to be a general meeting of ministers and thereafter a General Assembly (*Faithful Contendings Displayed*, pp. 438, 439). Brief minutes of grievances, etc., were supplied to Alexander Sheilds, who thereupon drafted the paper. By 'many of the societies' it was carefully revised and somewhat altered. After it had been finally adjusted, five men were chosen to present it to the Assembly and to desire an answer (*Ibid.* p. 446). In trying to carry out this remit much dogged perseverance was shown; but, as Patrick explains, little satisfaction was obtained (*Ibid.* pp. 447-58).

P. 259, *n.* 43. *Supra*, i. 82-84.

P. 260, *n.* 44. It was at Lesmahagow, on the 4th of March 1689, that Patrick Walker was chosen, as the representative of 'the Societies in the overward of Clidsdale,' to go, with representatives from various shires, to Edinburgh, 'where they were to stay in the time of the sitting of the Convention of Estates, for consulting and deliberating what was to be called for at their hands in emergencies that might fall out' (*Faithful Contendings Displayed*, p. 387). A paper 'by way of petition to the Convention of Estates' was 'presented to some of the meeting of Estates in private,' and by their advice 'it was not given in' (*Ibid.* p. 390).

P. 261, *n.* 45. Patrick is here in error. By the Act of 22nd July 1689, abolishing Prelacy, several Acts of Charles II. were rescinded, in so far as they were inconsistent with this Act, and as they established Prelacy or the superiority of church officers above presbyters (*Acts of Parliament*, ix. 104). By the Act of 7th June 1690, ratifying the *Confession of Faith*, and settling Presbyterian Church Government, all Acts were rescinded in so far as they were 'contrary or prejudiciall to, inconsistent with, or derogatory from the Protestant religion and Presbyterian government now established' (*Ibid.* ix. 133, 134); and, on the 19th of July 1690, an Act was passed rescinding all 'Acts, clauses and provisions in Acts whatsomever, made since the yeare 1661 inclusive, against nonconformity or for conformity to the Church and government thereof as then established under archbishops and bishops' (*Ibid.* ix. 198).

P. 261, *n.* 46. A copy of the petition drawn up by Alexander Sheilds, and addressed to the High Commissioner and remanent members of Parliament by 'the persecuted people of the west and southern shires,' is in *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, pp. 428-33. Lining, having undertaken 'to endeavour to get it presented to the Parliament,' delivered it to Sir John Monro of Foulis, who offered it to 'the Committee for the Church,' by whom it was contemptuously rejected (*Ibid.* p. 437).

P. 263, *n.* 47. See *supra*, ii. 125, *n.* 31.

P. 266, *n.* 48. *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, p. 2.

P. 267, *n.* 49. These four declarations are printed in the 1707 edition of *An Informatory Vindication*. Patrick is right with the dates of the first three, but is wrong with that of the fourth, being probably misled by its heading. *See* next note.

P. 267, *n.* 50. This declaration was published as a quarto pamphlet, with the title :—'A Protestation and Testimony against the Incorporating Union with England. *Lev.* xxv. 23. The land shall not be sold for ever. *Hosea* vii. 11. Ephraim also is like a silly dove, without heart, they call to Egypt, they go to Assyria.

'Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam servili sub nexu vivito fili.
Tu ne cede malis sed contra audentior ito.

'Sim homicida, sim adulter, modo non silentii arguar dum Christus patitur. *Luther.*' *s. d. et l.* The heading is:—'The Protestation and Testimony of the United Societies of the witnessing Remnant of the Anti-Popish, Anti-Prelatick, Anti-Erastian, Anti-Sectarian, true Presbyterian Church of Christ in Scotland, against the sinful Incorporating Union with England, and their Brittish Parliament, concluded and established May 1707.' This declaration is dated 2nd October 1707.

P. 268, *n.* 51. In a Minute-book of the Societies preserved in the New College Library, Edinburgh, is the following entry, under 7th August 1727:—'It is desired that Mr. John M'Neill, Mr. Charles Umpherston, Mr. Alexander Marshall, and Mr. Andrew Clarkson, and George Paton consider Carnwath's and Kersland's *Memoirs*, together with Patrick Walker's scandalous pamphlet, . . . and to give a short answer thereto in order to wipe off their false aspersions.' The outcome was the volume: —*Plain Reasons for Presbyterians dissenting from the Revolution-Church in Scotland*, 1731. In the *U. P. Magazine* for May 1898 I have shown that Patrick Walker and Ker of Kersland have done the Cameronians a grave injustice in the matter of the Pretender.

P. 269, *n.* 52. *Banders Disbanded*, 1681, pp. 46-49. See *supra*, ii. 162, *n.* 15.

P. 270, *n.* 53. 'A short Treatise of the Christian's Great Interest,' by William Guthrie, has gone through a great many editions—at least sixty. Of this famous work, C. H. Spurgeon said:—'There are many good books, like the saints of old, wandering about in sheepskins and goatskins—old Puritans—"destitute, afflicted, tormented," that will bear witness for Christ yet. You remember how Guthrie's *Saving Testimony*, long forgotten in Scotland, was found by a shepherd lad, taken to a minister, and read, and how there broke out, from the reading of that old book that had well-nigh gone out of date and notice, a blessed revival of evangelical religion' (*Metropolitan Tabernacle Pulpit*, No. 2218, p. 436). Owen's high estimate of the book is well known.

P. 272, *n.* 54. See *supra*, i. 349-52.

P. 272, *n.* 55. In the preface to 'The National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant with the Acknowledgement of Sins and Engagement to Duties: as they were renewed at Douglass, July 24th, 1712, with accomodation to the present times. . . . Printed in the year MDCCXII,' it is said:—'Some have taken occasion to pass injurious reflections upon the minister, because he made confession and acknowledgement of his own personal miscariages; as tho' he did it with design to please the people, and to excite them to make confession of the things whereof they had no due sense. . . . The minister did indeed acknowledge his own iniquities in general, with others, and also particularly at the entry of the

work; but without any design to please party, or person; but only for the glory of God, as himself declared.'

P. 274, *n.* 56. *Fulfilling of the Scripture*, 1671, p. 424.

P. 275, *n.* 57. This pamphlet seems to be very rare. I have never seen a copy. David Deans claimed the authorship, and said it was 'printed at the Bow-head, and sold by all flying stationers in town and country.'

P. 275, *n.* 58. *Naphtali*, 1667, p. 202.

P. 277, *n.* 59. *Is* is probably a misprint for *was*.

P. 277, *n.* 60. See *supra*, ii. 120, *n.* 7.

P. 277, *n.* 61. This refers to John Glass of Tealing (*supra*, i. 149-51). Sir Walter Scott makes David Deans speak of 'gazing, glancing-glasses.' Glass himself says:—'There was one Walker that made a kind of appearance in print, shewing that kind of zeal he hath for the Covenants. He classes me with Professor Simson, plays upon my name, diverts himself with his reproaches, and then very gravely denounces against me the woes that belong to them by whom offence comes' (*Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Controversy about the National Covenants*, 1728, p. 145).

P. 278, *n.* 62. Those who took the *Solemn League and Covenant* were bound, by its terms, not to give themselves 'to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause.'

P. 279, *n.* 63. In his *Last Speech and Testimony*, Guthrie says:—'I do bear my witness unto the National Covenant of Scotland, and Solemn League and Covenant betwixt the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland. These sacred, solemn, publick oaths of God, I believe, can be loosed nor dispensed with by no person or party or power upon earth; but are still binding upon these kingdoms and will be for ever hereafter' (*Naphtali*, 1667, p. 207). When Patrick speaks of having Guthrie's 'last dying words' beside him, he probably refers, not to *Naphtali*, but to the quarto pamphlet bearing the title, within a heavy mourning border:—'The true and perfect speech of Mr. James Guthrey, late minister of Sterling, as it was delivered by himself immediately before his execution, on June 1, 1661, at Edinbrough. Sent from Edinburgh, and printed for publick satisfaction and to prevent the disperssing of false copies. 1661.' The passage quoted above, with a few slight verbal variations, is in the pamphlet, pp. 12, 13.

P. 280, *n.* 64. This letter is printed in the *Earnest Contendings*, 1723, pp. 369-74.

P. 280, *n.* 65. *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, p. 19.

P. 281, *n.* 66. *Earnest Contendings*, 1723, pp. 370-73.

P 282, *n.* 67. The title of Robert Fleming's quarto pamphlet is:—

'The Church Wounded and Rent by a Spirit of Division, held forth in a short account of some sad differences hath been of late in the Church of Scotland, with the occasion, grounds, and too evident product thereof, whose wounds are bleeding to this day. . . . Printed M.DC.LXXXI.' For M'Ward's reply, see *supra*, ii. 159, *n.* 7.

P. 282, *n.* 68. Owing to the interference of the British Government, M'Ward had to leave Rotterdam, and Robert Fleming was inducted as his successor on the 30th of December 1677 (Steven's *Scottish Church in Rotterdam*, p. 64). A year later Fleming obtained leave of absence to visit his friends in Scotland, and when there was seized and imprisoned. He was released after Bothwell Bridge, by coming under the obligation to live peaceably and not to preach at field conventicles. In October 1679 he returned to his duties at Rotterdam (*Ibid.* pp. 84-87).

P. 283, *n.* 69. It is not through any disrespect that Patrick speaks of M'Ward as 'poor him.' In the statement which he is here following, that divine humbly describes himself as 'poor me' (*Earnest Contendings*, 1723, pp. 373, 374).

P. 284, *n.* 70. See *supra*, ii. 124, *n.* 25.

P. 285, *n.* 71. *Supra*, ii. 56, 57. By 'Mr. Bogues' Patrick means James Boig, student of theology.

P. 286, *n.* 72. *Supra*, ii. 17-27.

P. 287, *n.* 73. Patrick's next parcel (*supra*, ii. 1-118), published in 1732, did not contain all that he here contemplates. No place was found in it for the *Life of Alexander Sheilds*, nor for the *Gleanings of Renwick's Life*.

P. 288, *n.* 74. 1 Samuel iv. 21, 22. When Sir Walter put these words in the mouth of David Deans, it is more likely that he borrowed them from Patrick than from Eli's daughter-in-law.

P. 289, *n.* 75. 1 Samuel xxviii. 15.

P. 291, *n.* 76. *Earnest Contendings*, p. 372.

P. 293, *n.* 77. Of 'Gilbert Burnet, sometime professor of divinity at Glasgow, and since the Revolution Bishop of Sarum,' Wodrow says:—'This great ornament of his country is so well known to the world that it were to light a candle to the sun for me to offer any account of him' (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 405).

P. 293, *n.* 78. For Patrick's account of Hackston's martyrdom, see *supra*, i. 233.

P. 293, *n.* 79. 'Thir weemen proved verie obstinat, and for all the pains taken would not once acknowledge the king to be ther lawfull prince, but called him a perjured bloody man' (Fountainhall's *Historical Observes*, p. 27). See also *supra*, ii. 132, *n.* 19.

P. 293, *n.* 80. For *Naphtali* see *supra*, ii. 160, *n.* 15. The title of the

other work here referred to is:—'A Cloud of Witnesses for the Royal Prerogatives of Jesus Christ; or the Last Speeches and Testimonies of those who have suffered for the Truth, in Scotland, since the year 1680. . . . Printed in the year M.DCC.XIV.' The *Cloud* has gone through many editions; of these the second, printed in 1720, is the rarest. Of modern editions, that edited in 1871, by the late Mr. J. H. Thomson, is the best.

P. 294, *n.* 81. The passage which so excited Patrick's ire is to be found in Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, 1823, ii. 293-95. Patrick would have been still more indignant if he had seen the sentence restored in that edition which had been suppressed in the first.

P. 294, *n.* 82. A number of the epithets to which Patrick objects occur in the *History of the Sufferings*, iii. 202, 203. Patrick does not seem to have gathered them at first hand from Wodrow's pages, but to have borrowed them from M'Main (*Earnest Contendings*, 1723, pp. 376, 377).

P. 295, *n.* 83. Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, originally appeared in two folio volumes: the first published in 1721, the second in 1722. My references are all to the 8vo edition, in four volumes, edited by Dr. Robert Burns.

P. 296, *n.* 84. *History of the Sufferings*, i. p. xxxviii.

P. 296, *n.* 85. De Foe's words are:—'In order effectually to suppress these persecuted people, and to finish the ruin of the country, the government had raised what the country people call'd the *Highland Host*. . . . Those Highlanders, little better than barbarians, and in some cases much worse, were arm'd and taken into the service of Satan, and some time after the Bothwel Brigg affair, were order'd to the number of 8000 men to quarter upon the suffering people in the shires of Air, Galloway, and other the western shires' (*Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, 1717, Part iii. p. 218). Wodrow has given a very full account of the doings of the Highland Host in 1678—the year preceding the affair of Bothwell Bridge (*History of the Sufferings*, ii. 378-449); and says De Foe 'bewrays an uncommon ignorance of our Scottish affairs' when 'he speaks of the Highland Host as brought down upon the west some time after Bothwell-Bridge' (*Ibid.* i. p. xliii).

P. 296, *n.* 86. In this matter Patrick completely fails to justify De Foe, who had perhaps confounded two events, but who, at any rate, did fall into a serious error in saying that the Highland Host was brought south after instead of before Bothwell Bridge. Wodrow knew just as well as Patrick that Highlanders were used against the Covenanters in 1685; and to this new Highland Host he refers over and over again (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 159, 208, 245, 257).

P. 297, *n.* 87. Of these martyrs Alexander Sheilds says:—'The said Claverhouse, together with the Earl of Dumbarton and Liev.-Gen. Dowglas, caused Peter Gillis, John Bryce, Thomas Young (who was taken by the Laird of Lee), William Fiddison, and John Buiening (*sic*) to be put to death upon a gibbet, without legal tryal or sentence, suffering them neither to have a Bible nor to pray before they died, at Mauchlin, *anno* 1685' (*Short Memorial of the Sufferings and Grievances*, 1690, p. 34). Ridpath's account, which is evidently borrowed from the above, is even briefer:—Graham of Claverhouse 'together with the Earl of Dumbarton and Lieut.-General Douglas caused to hang Peter Gillis, John Bryce, Thomas Young, William Fiddison, and John Binning without tryal or sentence, suffering them neither to have Bible nor time to pray, at Mauchlin, *anno* 1685' (*Answer to Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, 1693, p. 24). Wodrow could not recover the names of the last three, but gives some interesting details concerning the sufferings of Gillis, and tells that he and the others were examined at Mauchline by Lieut.-General Drummond, found guilty by a jury of fifteen soldiers on the 5th of May 1685, and hanged next day. He adds:—'No coffins were allowed them, nor dead clothes; but the soldiers and two country men made a hole in the earth near by, and cast them all together in it' (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 245, 246).

P. 298, *n.* 88. In referring to De Foe's inaccuracy, Wodrow had also said:—'He talks of the indulgence as a contrivance of the prelates and their friends; which is a plain mistake' (*History of the Sufferings*, i. p. xliii).

P. 298, *n.* 89. *History of the Sufferings*, iii. 62, 203.

P. 298, *n.* 90. Cf. *ibid.* i. 286.

P. 299, *n.* 91. *Ibid.* ii. 135.

P. 299, *n.* 92. In the passage to which Patrick objects, Wodrow was speaking of those whom the Privy Council offered to indulge in 1669, and Cargill was not one of these. Wodrow tells, however, that, three years later, the indulgence was extended to him (*History of the Sufferings*, ii. 203), and that he and others refused to accept it (*Ibid.* ii. 207).

P. 300, *n.* 93. *History of the Sufferings*, ii. 135.

P. 300, *n.* 94. *Ibid.*

P. 301, *n.* 95. Wodrow says that 'Mr. David Houston, minister, come over from Ireland,' was received by Renwick and the Societies in December 1686 (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 395, 396); and that, afterwards, 'Mr. Houston having discovered his weakness, if not worse, and several representations being given in against him, and some things laid to his charge, being found by the General Meeting not to be without ground, that party cast him off and would have no more to do with him'

History of the Sufferings, iv. 442). Wodrow drew his information from the records of the Societies.

P. 302, *n.* 96. In 1691, Gilbert Rule describes Houston as 'a man who not only is disowned by the soberest sort of Presbyterians, but even by the Cameronians, as of most unsound principles and most immoral practices' (*Second Vindication of the Church of Scotland*, p. 102). Perhaps Rule had confounded David Houston with his brother 'Mr. William.'

P. 302, *n.* 97. *History of the Sufferings*, ii. 210.

P. 302, *n.* 98. *Ibid.* ii. 211.

P. 303, *n.* 99. *Fulfilling of the Scripture*, 1671, pp. 420, 421.

P. 303, *n.* 1. The best account of this interview is in James Melville's *Diary*, Wodrow Society, pp. 370, 371. Patrick, of course, obtained it elsewhere.

P. 303, *n.* 2. *History of the Sufferings*, ii. 211.

P. 304, *n.* 3. *Ibid.*

P. 305, *n.* 4. *Ibid.* ii. 128, 129, 234.

P. 306, *n.* 5. *Ibid.* ii. 491.

P. 306, *n.* 6. *Ibid.* ii. 489, 490; Fountainhall's *Historical Observes*, pp. 278, 279.

P. 307, *n.* 7. *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, pp. 254, 257.

P. 307, *n.* 8. *History of the Sufferings*, ii. 491, 492.

P. 307, *n.* 9. *Ibid.* ii. 492.

P. 308, *n.* 10. *Ibid.* iii. 38.

P. 308, *n.* 11. Wodrow has given an interesting account of the chequered career of this John Knox (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 38, 39).

P. 309, *n.* 12. Patrick is here unfair to Wodrow, who says of Kid :— 'He had been represented as a Jesuit popish priest, and what not; but he gave abundant discoveries of his being a firm Protestant and good man' (*History of the Sufferings*, iii. 132). He indeed says that the advocate told Renwick that reports 'had been industriously spread that he was a Jesuit'; but he also relates that the priests who visited him in prison declared him to be 'a most obstinate heretic' (*Ibid.* iv. 451). He likewise controverted the slander that the extreme Presbyterians were influenced by or associated with the Jesuits (*Ibid.* iii. 150).

P. 309, *n.* 13. *Supra*, i. 223, 224.

P. 310, *n.* 14. *History of the Sufferings*, iii. 151, 153.

P. 310, *n.* 15. *Supra*, ii. 162, *n.* 15.

P. 310, *n.* 16. *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, p. 8.

P. 311, *n.* 17. *Naphtali*, 1693, p. 457.

P. 311, *n.* 18. *History of the Sufferings*, iii. 153.

P. 311, *n.* 19. *Earnest Contendings*, pp. 20, 323.

P. 312, *n.* 20. *History of the Sufferings*, iii. 283.

P. 313, *n.* 21. *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, pp. 2, 3.

P. 313, *n.* 22. *History of the Sufferings*, iv. 445.

P. 313, *n.* 23. *Supra*, ii. 151, *nn.* 12, 13.

P. 314, *n.* 24. *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, p. 256.

P. 314, *n.* 25. 'I am apt to think that such of these who were most branded with mistakes will be found to have been most single' (*Naphtali*, 1693, p. 458).

P. 315, *n.* 26. *Supra*, ii. 125, *n.* 31.

P. 315, *n.* 27. The title of this once famous book is:—'A Hind let Loose, or an Historical Representation of the Testimonies of the Church of Scotland for the Interest of Christ, with the true state thereof in all its periods: together with a Vindication of the present Testimonie against the Popish Prelatical and Malignant Enemies of that Church, as it is now stated for the Prerogatives of Christ, Priviledges of the Church, and Liberties of Mankind, and sealed by the sufferings of a Reproached Remnant of Presbyterians there, witnessing against the Corruptions of the Time. . . . By a Lover of true Liberty. . . . Printed in the year CIↃIↃCLXXXVII.' It was republished in Glasgow in 1770, and again in 1797.

P. 315, *n.* 28. *History of the Sufferings*, iii. 284.

P. 315, *n.* 29. These *Steps of Defection* were afterwards published by Patrick. See *supra*, ii. 71-83.

P. 316, *n.* 30. *History of the Sufferings*, iii. 226.

P. 316, *n.* 31. *Supra*, ii. 142, *n.* 61.

P. 317, *n.* 32. In mentioning Archibald Stewart's examination, torture and execution, Wodrow says nothing about his owning the lawfulness of killing the King or any of his Council (*History of the Sufferings*, iii. 218, 227, 228); and in another passage explicitly states:—'I do not find by any papers in the process that Mr. Skene, Stuart, and Potter assert it was their duty to kill the King and his brother; and, till I see that proven, I must take this assertion only as a supposed consequence from their denying the King's authority, the justice of which I am yet to learn' (*Ibid.* iii. 231). Stewart and Potter suffered martyrdom on the 1st of December 1680—not 1681 as Patrick says.

P. 317, *n.* 33. Stewart's words are:—'They allege that we are of bloody principles. . . . I have been studying that which all the land are obliged to, which is to hear and keep up the gospel, and defend my own life and the lives of my brethren, who have been so long hunted, and to defend the gospel which has been so long born down. So then . . . in that they give out in their declaration that I said I would kill the King or any of the Council, it is an untruth and forged calumny. . . . I never said that I would do it' (*Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, p. 66).

P. 317, *n.* 34. Wodrow gives what he calls 'a few hints from the records' concerning Gogar, Millar, and Sangster (*History of the Sufferings*, iii. 277). From these he learned that Gogar said he thought 'it lawful to kill the King's servants, because they are enemies to Christ'; and that Sangster said it was lawful to kill the King and the judges 'in as far as they are against God,' and he thought they were God's enemies.

P. 317, *n.* 35. *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, p. 103.

P. 318, *n.* 36. *History of the Sufferings*, ii. 54.

P. 319, *n.* 37. *Fulfilling of the Scripture*, 1671, p. 462.

P. 319, *n.* 38. These seven martyrs suffered at Ayr in December 1666 on account of the Pentland rising (*History of the Sufferings*, ii. 53, 54). Wodrow says little of them; but gives an account of William Sutherland, the dauntless Highland hangman, who refused to be their executioner, and has printed William's declaration (*Ibid.* ii. 54–58). This declaration, with some important variations, was published as a chap-book of 16 pp. The title is:—'The Life and Trials of William Sutherland with his Declaration while in exile. And an Account of his Suffereings during the time of his imprisonment, which was seventeen weeks and three days; how that he lived from Munday to Saturday upon a mutchken of ale and a fardle of bread, and a chapine of water for which he gave a sixpence. Glasgow, printed in the year 1721.' From the chap-book (not from Wodrow) it appears that the hangman's knowledge was not bounded by the Bible. When in prison, he says, 'I railed out bitterly against them out of Scripture and in the Scriptures, and from the *Chronicles* and *David Lindsay*. I said the most glorious bishop that ever was in Scotland was hanged over his own window, as the story says, *Ye priests content ye now, for sticked is your Cordinal and salted like a sow.*' The reference to thumbikins in the epitaph is an anachronism. That instrument of torture did not come into fashion in Scotland until 1684 (*supra*, ii. 130, *n.* 12).

P. 319, *n.* 39. *History of the Sufferings*, i. 323.

P. 320, *n.* 40. Patrick's accuracy in this matter is amply vouched. 'In this reeling time the Societies were not idle, for not only some of them were active in what was done against Popish idolatry at Edinburgh, but what was done of that kind in other places of the country was done for the most part by them; and they were willing to have done more, if it had been in their power' (*Faithful Contendings Displayed*, p. 367). 'And herein they were helped of the Lord to carry Christianly, as was acknowledged by their very enemies; for though they shewed much strictness in searching for idolatrous things in houses where they got intelligence of their being hid, yet they did not wrong any thing in the house, nor take ought out of the same; witness that which they did at Traquair;

neither did they convert any of these idolatrous things (though some of them were of great value) to private or public uses, but brought the same to public mercat-crosses; and there before many witnesses destroyed them by fire' (*Faithful Contendings Displayed*, p. 371). As to the searching of Traquair House and the holocaust at Peebles, the most explicit corroboration of Patrick's story has been furnished by David Laing, who found and printed an 'Inventar of what was gotten in my Lord Traquair's House, by the Laird of Kersland and others at the Revolution. Anno: 1688.' This inventory is much too long to be quoted in full. It includes five vestments, three of silk and two of velvet, each of which is separately described. There were also many pictures, framed and unframed; and many 'Popish books,' great and small, 'some of them having silver clasps.' Among the other items are the following:—

Three white surplices.
One old alter.
Mary and the Babe in a caise, most curiously wrought with a kind of pearle.
Agnus Dei of lamber, with a picture above and another beneath of the same, in a caise.
Two Marys and the Babe in a caise.
The Queen of Peace curiously drawn.
An eucharist cup of silver guilded with gold.
A box with relicts, wherein were lying amongst silk cotton severall pieces of bones, tyed with a reid threed, having written upon them the saint they belonged unto, viz. St. Cresentius, Marianus, St. Angelus, &c.
A string of fine beeds with a golden crucifix.
Five other strings of fine beeds, some of them of pearle, with a fine crucifix each of them.
A timber box with many wafers in it.
A pot full of holy oyle.
About twelve dozen of wax candles.
A massy eucharist silver cup.
A cloath of silk four cornered, richly embroydered with silver, having the shape of a dove in the middle.

The inventory explains that all the 'trinkets' were not found in one place, and it is wound up with the statement: 'All solemnly burnt at the Cross of Peebles' (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, ii. 454-57). The mere fact that an inventory of the items was made before they were destroyed is enough to prove that the work was gone about deliberately and methodically. The Donald (or Daniel) Ker of

Kersland, who conducted these operations at Traquair House, and was killed at the battle of Steinkirk, in 1692, must not be confounded with the author of *The Memoirs of John Ker of Kersland*, whose own name was John Crawford, and who, having married Donald Ker's eldest sister, 'assumed the surname, title, and arms of the house of Kersland' (M'Crie's *Veitch and Brysson*, pp. 423, 424).

P. 322, *n.* 41. 'The generality of people in the five western shires—considering the providences of the time, which were indeed wonderful—did look upon the same as an opportunity put in their hands of shaking off the yoke of abjured Prelacy, under which they had been long groaning, and the casting out of the kirks these intruding hirelings the curates, resolving never to subject to them, and to do all which lies in their power to hinder the intrusion again' (*Faithful Contendings Displayed*, pp. 370, 371). 'Many curates were put from their kirks, so that in all the five western shires scarce one of them durst preach in a kirk' (*Ibid.* p. 379). Lest 'the cause might be wronged and the owners thereof reproached,' a form of dismissal was prepared which parishioners might sign and send to the curate; and in some places this was acted on (*Ibid.* pp. 375, 376).

P. 322, *n.* 42. This was on the 4th of January 1689. The Societies wished 'to clear themselves of some aspersions cast upon them, particularly that of robbing the curate of Carluke for which they were blamed' (*Faithful Contendings Displayed*, p. 368).

P. 322, *n.* 43. The work to which Patrick here refers is :—'A Second Vindication of the Church of Scotland: Being an Answer to Five Pamphlets, the titles of which are set down after the Preface. By the Author of the former Vindication in Answer to the 10 Questions. . . . Edinburgh, Printed by George Mosman, printer to the Church of Scotland and her Assemblies, and are to be sold at his shop in the Parliament Close, anno Domini MDCXCI.' Gilbert Rule is known to have been the author of this *Vindication*. Of the five pamphlets to which he replies, the first three were entitled—(1) 'An account of the present persecutions of the Church of Scotland, in several letters'; (2) 'The case of the afflicted clergy in Scotland truely represented'; and (3) 'A late letter concerning the sufferings of the Episcopal clergy in Scotland.' Rule (pp. 25-37) deals with a number of specific cases of alleged persecution. As to the general question of ousting the curates, he (p. 9) says :—'The Convention began March 1689, and before that time the ministers in the west were put out by the people. . . . That any in the Council or Parliament had a hand in these tumults, or abetted them, is spoken with much malice but no truth: the men of most note and zeal for Presbytery did what in them lay to allay that forewardness of the people, that the Church might be reformed in a more legal way. . . . That there was no

redress after complaints of injured persons is also false; for all the ministers put out by violence without a legal procedure after the 13 April 1689 were by the Parliament restored to their places: such as were put out before that time the wisdom of the nation thought it not fit to repone; because what was done in that was done in an *interregnum*, when we had no government: and it was procured by themselves who suffered, the people having been provoked by them beyond what can be easily expressed; . . . and there was no other way to settle the nation in peace, but to indemnify them who had avenged their own unparalleled sufferings on the authors of them.'

P. 322, *n.* 44. Cf. *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, pp. 370, 371; *Scots Worthies*, 1781, pp. 572, 574.

P. 323, *n.* 45. *History of the Sufferings*, iii. 286.

P. 323, *n.* 46. *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, pp. 126-49. For the separate reprint of their testimonies, see *infra*, *n.* 50.

P. 323, *n.* 47. In *Peden's Life*, not in the preface. See *supra*, i. 53, 54.

P. 324, *n.* 48. In 1681 the 10th of October fell on a Monday.

P. 325, *n.* 49. Archibald Stewart and John Potter suffered on Wednesday the 1st of December 1680 (*supra*, ii. 181, *n.* 32); Cuthil and Thomson suffered on Wednesday the 27th of July 1681 (*supra*, i. 56, 57). The testimonies of all the four are in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, pp. 65-77, 114-26.

P. 325, *n.* 50. The reprint to which Patrick thus alludes is entitled:—'The Last Speeches and Testimony to a Covenanted Reformation, of Robert Garnock, Patrick Forman, David Farrie, James Stewart, and Alexander Russel, whose heads were brought above ground, in the Providence of God, on the 7th day of October 1726, 45 years after they were severed from their bodies, crying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge, and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? Rev. vi. 10. . . . Edinburgh, reprinted anno MDCCXXVI.' In the preface it is said:—'These five martyrs for truth and a good conscience suffered on Munday the 10th of October 1681, at the Gallow-lee, betwixt Edinburgh and Leith: their heads, being severed from their bodies, were set on the Pleasants-Port; their bodies, buried at the gallows-foot, were in the night raised by friends, and buried in the West-Kirk-yard; thereafter some other friends did take down their heads, and privately buried them in one chest, in a garden at the south-west corner of the city-wall: there they lay till the 7th of October 1726, when a gardiner unawars found and raised them; and after 12 days they were with solemnity decently re-interred, in one coffin, at the martyrs' tomb, a great multitude attending, and even many of these, ministers

and others, who comply with the present course: therefore it was thought fit to publish their speeches, that so men may perceive clearly what was really the cause for which they suffered, and may not pretend to honour them for the sake of a cause, they themselves are either ignorant of or else but faintly own.' Though this account is very much shorter than Patrick's, it indicates much more precisely the spot where the heads were found. In those days the town-wall bounded the grounds of Heriot's Hospital on the south, as it still partly does on the west. The place of burial must therefore have been at or near the head of Lauriston Lane. The 'slanderous elegy' to which Patrick objects is introduced, on the last page of the pamphlet, as 'the present language of the five sculls of martyrs,' and begins thus :—

> 'What doth the Lord regard this pompous show,
> Whereby to honour us ye mourning go?'

When the story of the five sculls reached Dundee it had become much more wonderful. Some 'well-meaning people' there are said to have firmly believed, 'That the spot of ground where the heads of these martyrs lay bore the finest flowers, and when Mr. G[las]s began to speak against the Covenants, the flowers wither'd. The heads of the martyrs when taken up were perfectly fresh, so that their faces could be known' (Glass's *Narrative of the Rise and Progress*, 1728, p. 80).

P. 326, *n.* 51. In 1676 several Presbyterian services had been held in the Magdalene Chapel (*History of the Sufferings*, ii. 318).

P. 326, *n.* 52. The famous David Williamson and Hugh Kennedy.

P. 328, *n.* 53. M'Ward held that all subjects ought to pray for the conversion and salvation of their magistrates, whether supreme or subordinate, even though they had become open tyrants and persecutors (*Banders Disbanded*, 1681, pp. 48, 49). 'As for their refusing to pray for the King, some of them indeed scrupled the terms "God save," as a bidding him God speed in his persecution, and as a term demanded of and dictated to them for that purpose.' Few, if any, 'scrupled to pray for the King in their own terms, viz. for repentance and salvation to his soul' (*History of the Sufferings*, iii. 214). Captain Campbell offered to pray that 'the Lord would give him a godly life here and a life of glory hereafter.' But Windram answered:—'That is not enough, you must pray for King Charles II., as he is supreme over all persons and causes, ecclesiastic as well as civil.' Campbell replied that, in his opinion, 'that was praying for him as the head of the Church, which belonged only to Christ' (*Ibid.* iv. 49). Sheilds has discussed at considerable length the question of owning the tyrant by saying 'God save the King'; and has recorded his own form of prayer for the King in which he neither asks for his repentance nor salvation (*Hind let Loose*, 1687, pp. 454-68).

P. 329, *n.* 54. To the same purpose Wodrow says:—'The advocates for the cruelty of this period, and our Jacobites, have the impudence, some of them to deny and others to extenuate this matter of fact, which can be fully evinced by many living witnesses' (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 247). The most laboured attempt to disprove the martyrdom was made by Mark Napier in 1863 in his work entitled, 'The Case for the Crown *in re* the Wigton Martyrs proved to be myths *versus* Wodrow and Lord Macaulay, Patrick the Pedler and Principal Tulloch.' This work was triumphantly refuted by Dr. Stewart of Glasserton in his 'History Vindicated' (second edition, 1869). Napier replied, in 1870, in his 'History Rescued.' In her petition to the Privy Council, the name of the elder sufferer is given as 'Margaret Lachlisone,' and also as 'Lauchliesone.' In the *Register of the Privy Council* she is called 'Margret Lauchlison'; and in a 'Note of the Acts past in Councill and their Committees' she appears as 'Margerat Lachlisone.'

P. 330, *n.* 55. Grierson of Lag was Sir Walter's *Redgauntlet*. Patrick does not seem to have dreaded an action for defamation of character at the instance of the notorious persecutor, who, he intimates, was 'yet out of hell.' Perhaps it was Patrick's brief 'character' which suggested the idea of the fuller and not less forcible one entitled, 'An Elegy in Memory of that valiant champion Sir Robert Grierson of Lag; or the Prince of Darkness his Lamentation for and Commendation of his trusty and well-beloved friend, the Laird of Lag, who died Dec. 23d, 1733. Wherein the Prince of Darkness sets forth the commendation of many of his best friends, who were chief promoters of his interest and upholders of his kingdom in the time of persecution. Very useful and necessary to be read by all who desire to be well informed concerning the chief managers and management of the late persecuting period. The tenth edition. Glasgow: Printed by John Bryce, and sold at his shop, Salt-Market. 1773.' Carlyle believed that this chap-book was written by John Orr the dominie of Hoddam. Its authorship has also been claimed for James Dalziel, of Campbell, Closeburn, Dumfriesshire.

P. 331, *n.* 56. As Patrick here intimates, both in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, p. 149, and in the 1726 reprint (*supra*, p. 185, *n.* 50), only a very brief summary of Alexander Russel's testimony is given. The compilers of the *Cloud* say that 'in some things' his testimony is 'not very conveniently exprest.'

P. 332, *n.* 57. Of these five martyrs Wodrow says:—'The sentence was executed against all of them at the Gallow-lee, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh. The reason of this change of the place was the multitude of executions at the Cross and Grass-market drew so many spectators, and the carriage, and last speeches of the sufferers when allowed to have

them, made such impressions that it was found adviseable to take the sufferers out of the town, to a place where some of the most notorious criminals used to be executed; and I am told that several times they carried them down thither early in the morning, and at hours when they expected few would come out of town' (*History of the Sufferings*, iii. 287).

P. 333, *n.* 58. *History of the Sufferings*, iii. 220.

P. 334, *n.* 59. *Ibid.*

P. 334, *n.* 60. John Dick's testimony was omitted from the *Cloud of Witnesses* because, as the compilers of that work (1714, p. 234) explain, it had been 'lately published in print by itself.' Wodrow speaks of this printed testimony as being 'in every body's hands' (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 59). Its title is:—'A Testimony to the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland, and the Covenanted Work of Reformation as it was profess'd in the Three Kingdoms: together with an Account of the persecution of some of the most eminent in our days for their adherence to the same. As it was left in write by that truely pious and emmently (*sic*) faithfull and now glorified martyr Mr. John Dick. To which is added his Last Speech and behaviour on the scaffold, on the fifth day of March 1684. Which day he sealed this testimony, and left it to a particular friend to communicate to the world after his death; which was never published till now, at the desire of some reall and sincere lovers of the true peace and welfare of the Church of Scotland. Printed in the year [blank].' This quarto pamphlet fills 58 pp. In the *Cloud* he is described as 'that worthy gentleman, Mr. John Dick student of theology'; by Wodrow as 'this pious and zealous sufferer'; by himself as 'Mr. John Dick, son to David Dick writer in Edinburgh.'

P. 335, *n.* 61. *Supra*, i. 255. John Dick owned the Hamilton Declaration, and disowned the Sanquhar Declaration.

P. 335, *n.* 62. M'Ward's words are:—'It may be it shall be found, upon just and impartial search, that in the skirts of Hamilton Declaration, whereby the interest of the indulger and an union with the indulged were secured, will be found the blood of the slain' (*Earnest Contendings*, p. 297).

P. 335, *n.* 63. *History of the Sufferings*, iii. 95.

P. 335, *n.* 64. *Fulfilling of the Scripture*, 1671, pp. 420, 421.

P. 336, *n.* 65. *Supra*, i. 93.

P. 336, *n.* 66. *Naphtali*, 1693, pp. 464, 469.

P. 337, *n.* 67. *Supra*, ii. 153, *n.* 29.

P. 337, *n.* 68. *Supra*, ii. 13.

P. 338, *n.* 69. There are several references to this official in the *Register of the Privy Council*. The following from the *Decreta*, 18th June

1685, throws some light on prison life in those days:—'Anent a petition presented by Mr. John Vanse [may be read *Vause*] and Arthur Udney, keepers of the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and Walter Young, keeper of the tolbooth of Canongate, shewing that, when prisoners are by the Councill's ordor transported to other prisones, the petitioners receave nothing from them either of house dues or for what they furnish them, to their great losse and prejudice; and theirfor humbly supplicating the Councill to take the premisses to their consideration, and to allow the petitioners to exact weekly of publict prisoners their ordinary dues in maner underwritten. The Lords of his Majesties Privy Councill, haveing heard and considered the forsaid petition, doe allow the petitioners to exact weekly of publict prisoners their ordinary dues and what else shall be furnished to them by the petitioner (*sic*); and, in caise they faile to pay, doe impower the petitioners to keep them more strictly then other prisoners, so that when such prisoners may be transported the petitioners loss may be the less.'

P. 338, *n.* 70. *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, p. 82.

P. 339, *n.* 71. *Earnest Contendings*, 1723, pp. 331-68.

P. 339, *n.* 72. By *high-goats* Patrick means *he-goats*. See Jer. l. 8.

P. 340, *n.* 73. 'Cargil and 4 of his disciples . . . ware all 5 hanged at the marcat crosse of Edinburgh on the 27 of July (which some thought but ane ill preparation to the Parliament to be ridden the nixt day). . . . On the 28 of July 1681, the Scots Parliament sate doune, and was riden with great pomp and magnificence from the Abbay of Halyroodhouse to the Parliament House and back again. . . . Some expected a motion, on the reading of the Duke of York's commission in the house, that it should have been objected against the Commissioner that he was not capable of so hy a dignity not being a Protestant; . . . but none proposed this' (Fountainhall's *Historical Observes*, pp. 45, 46).

P. 340, *n.* 74. James VII. was proclaimed at London on the 6th of February, the day on which Charles II. died; and at Edinburgh on the 10th.

P. 340, *n.* 75. At the General Assembly held in June 1582, Andrew Melville inveighed against absolute authority as 'the bloodie guillie' (Calderwood's *History*, iii. 622).

P. 340, *n.* 76. This letter of thanks is printed in Wodrow's *History*, iv. 428; and with a candid commentary in the *Hind let Loose*, 1687, pp. 173-80.

P. 341, *n.* 77. The Act of Privy Council for this thanksgiving is dated 17th January 1688, but the thanksgiving was to be kept on the 29th of January in the diocese of Edinburgh, and on the 19th of February in the other parts of Scotland. Wodrow says: 'The tolerated

Presbyterian ministers did not keep it' (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 438, 439).

P. 341, *n.* 78. Patrick is quite correct in these dates. 'The diocese of Edinburgh and the three Lothians' were to observe the 21st of June.

P. 341, *n.* 79. 'So the 21st of June was feriat at Edinburgh, and a thanksgiving by sermons, etc., for the prince's birth; and at night there were curious fyreworks at the North-Loch syde' (Fountainhall's *Historical Notices*, ii. 870).

P. 342, *n.* 80. In the Oath of Abjuration the swearers declare that they believe that the Pretender 'hath not any right or title whatsoever to the crown of this realm, or any other the dominions thereunto belonging' (*Wodrow Correspondence*, i. 153).

P. 342, *n.* 81. *History of the Sufferings*, i. p. xxxv.

P. 343, *n.* 82. 'Large numbers of Monmouth's followers were hanged by the pursuing soldiers without form of law. Many were thrust into prison to await their trial. Jeffreys, the most insolent of the judges, was sent to hold, in the western counties, what will always be known as the Bloody Assizes. . . . At Winchester he condemned an old lady, Alice Lisle, who was guilty of hiding in her house two fugitives from vengeance. At Dorchester 74 persons were hanged. In Somersetshire no less than 233 were put to death. . . . The whole number of those who perished in the Bloody Assizes was 320, whilst 841 were transported to the West Indies to work as slaves under a broiling sun. James welcomed Jeffreys on his return, and made him Lord Chancellor as a reward for his achievements' (S. R. Gardiner's *Student's History of England*, ii. 637, 638).

P. 343, *n.* 83. The first General Assembly of the Reformed Church of Scotland was held in December 1560, but there is nothing to show that any moderator presided over its meetings.

P. 344, *n.* 84. Laing's *Knox*, ii. 276.

P. 345, *n.* 85. Patrick probably drew this from Samuel Clark, who was one of his favourite authors.

P. 345, *n.* 86. *Supra*, i. 6, 7.

P. 346, *n.* 87. Sheilds refers to the Duke of York's celebrated saying, 'it would never be well till all the south-syd of Forth were made a hunting field' (*Hind let Loose*, 1687, p. 200). 'He would have all the five western shires turned to a hunting field' (Wodrow's *History*, iii. 348). The author of *Lag's Elegy* puts it:

> 'Threatned to make a hunting-field
> Of shires that would not fully yield.'

P. 346, *n.* 88. In the opinion of Sheilds, the king's design in this toleration was 'to advance his own absoluteness over all lawes,' and

afterwards 'to undermine and overturn the Protestant religion and establish Poperie and idolatrie' (*Hind let Loose*, 1687, p. 165).

P. 347, *n.* 89. This *thirdly* is intended to follow the *secondly* on p. 339.

P. 348, *n.* 90. The 29th of May was the birthday and restoration-day of Charles II. The observance of this anniversary 'had not only the concurrence of the universality of the nation,' but even of some ministers who accepted the indulgence, one of whom, 'a pillar among them, was seen scandalously dancing about the bonefires' (*Hind let Loose*, 1687, p. 99).

P. 348, *n.* 91. See Wodrow's *History*, iv. 40, 41.

P. 349, *n.* 92. *Supra*, ii. 124, *n.* 24.

P. 349, *n.* 93. For a notice of John Greig, minister of Skirling, see *The Bass Rock*, 1848, pp. 80-96; and for Peter Kid, minister of Douglas, see *ibid.* p. 375.

P. 350, *n.* 94. Wodrow's words are:—'July 22d [1684], I find Patrick Walker, a boy of eighteen years or under, before the Council. He confesses he was present at the murder of Francis Garden one of the Earl of Airly's troop, and refuses to discover his accomplices. Arthur Tacket confesseth he was in the rebellion, and lately with the rebels in arms in the shire of Lanark. The Council ordain them both to be questioned by torture, to-morrow, before the committee for Public Affairs, at nine of the clock. Patrick Walker was ordered, July 23d, to the plantations, probably after he had undergone torture' (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 47).

P. 350, *n.* 95. As will be shown in the following notes, the above is not Wodrow's only reference to Patrick Walker.

P. 350, *n.* 96. *Supra*, ii. 160, *n.* 14. Many Covenanters, though perfectly innocent of Sharp's death, resolutely refused, at all hazards, to call it murder. On the 12th of November 1684, in presence of the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Linlithgow, and the Lords Secretary, Justice Clerk, and Castlehill, the prisoners in the tolbooth of Edinburgh were examined anent the Apologetical Declaration. The official record of this examination, preserved in the Register House, contains the following:—'George Fleeming in Bulbuthy, being examined upon oath, depones he knows nothing of the paper, and disownes the same and haill heads and articles thereof; declares he thinks all rysing in armes against the King upon account of the Covenant, or any other pretence whatsomever, to be unlawfull; acknowledges the rysing at Bothwel-bridge to be a rebellion and sinfull, and that the murder of the archbishop was a horrid murder.' His signature is appended in a bold, firm hand—'Geo: Flemyng.' This must either have been one of the seven who took an active part in the proceedings at Magus Muir on the 3rd of May 1679, or his father. In Russell's *Narrative* the participator in Sharp's death is

described as 'George Fleman in Balbathie,' and in the same *Narrative*, 'George Fleman younger in Balbathie' is mentioned as present at a meeting held at Gilston barely four weeks before. In another list (Wodrow's *History*, iii. 47) the participator is described as 'George Fleming son to George Fleming in Balboothy.'

P. 350, *n.* 97. I have been unable to find any record of this sentence of 3rd July in the *Register of the Privy Council*, or among the Privy Council warrants and papers still preserved.

P. 350, *n.* 98. Adam Urquhart, Laird of Meldrum, 'a cruel oppressor of the Presbyterians,' died in the first half of November 1684. His death was known in London by the 18th of November (*Drumlanrig Manuscripts*, p. 211). He died suddenly about two hours after being in 'a publick inn' (Erskine's *Journal*, 1893, p. 94). The command of Meldrum's troop was given to the Earl of Airlie, who had previously held it (Fountainhall's *Historical Notices*, ii. 581).

P. 350, *n.* 99. In a list of fugitives published in May 1684, among the Stirlingshire names occurs—'Patrick Walker in Drumcria' (Wodrow's *History*, iv. 13).

P. 351, *n.* 1. Patrick is not quite accurate in this matter. Archbishop Burnet lived seven weeks after the 3rd of July 1684.

P. 351, *n.* 2. In the *Register of the Privy Council* (*Acta*) there is the following entry, under date 22nd July 1684:—'The Lords of his Majesties Privie Councill haveing considered the confessione of Patrick Walker prisoner emitted before the Justices, wherby he acknowledges his being present at the murder of Francis Gairne one of the Earle of Airlie's troup, and refuises to discover his complices; as also haveing considered the confessione of Arthur Tackett his being with the rebells lately in armes in the shyre of Lanerk, who also refuises to declare anent his complices; the saids Lords ordaines them to be questioned by torture thereanent, before the Committie of Councill for Publict Affaires, to-morrow at nyne a clock in the forenoon.' This is the entry of which Wodrow's summary is quoted above in *n.* 94.

P. 351, *n.* 3. In the same *Register of the Privy Council*, under 24th July 1684, there is the following:—'The Lords of his Majesties Privie Councill, haveing considered ane addresse made to them by Robert Malloch, merchant in Edinburgh, in favors of and for Patrick Walker prisoner in the tolbuith of Edinburgh, desyreing the Councill would be pleased to adhere to ther former act of banishment, and not to make him infirme by putting him into the bootes or any other torture, the said Patrick being but a boy of eighteine years of age, with the report of the Committie for Publict Affaires anent the petitioners caice, doe ordaine the petitioner to be delyvered to the said Robert Malloch, merchant in

Edinburgh, to be transported in a ship belonging to him bounding for the plantations in Carolina, and grants warrant to the magistrats of Edinburgh to delyver him accordingly, he first finding cautione to transport the petitioner to the said plantationes, and report a certificate under the hand of the governour of the place of his landing there, under the penalty of one thousand merks Scots money in caice of failyie—seahazard, mortality and pirrats being allwayes excepted.'

P. 352, *n.* 4. Edinburgh, 7th August 1684. 'The Lords of his Majesties Privie Councill haveing heard and considered a petitione presented by Robert Malloch, merchant in Edinburgh, for Patrick Walker prisoner, desyreing that, in regard the Laird of Meldrum cannot impute any part of the murder of one Master Gairden one of his troup, against the said Patrick Walker, who by warrant of Councill is brought a shore from the said Robert Malloch his ship from the road of Leith, notwithstanding he had found sufficient cautione under the penalty of one thousand merks to land him in the plantationes of America; the saids Lords doe hereby give order and warrant to his Majesties advocat (notwithstanding of any former order given for his transportatione) to insist against the said Patrick Walker before the Justices, for his alleadged accessione to the killing of the said Master Gairden, and appoynts the clerks of Councill to writt to Meldrum to send in any probatione he hes against him and witnesses as soon as is possible' (*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, Acta*).

P. 352, *n.* 5. Patrick did not lie the whole of this time in prison. On the 8th of November 1684 he was released for a short time, as is proved by the following original document still preserved among the Warrants of Privy Council:—'Be it kend till all men be thir presentts, me, George Chalmers in Esterinch of Bathgait, forasmuchas Patrick Walker, sone to umquhill Patrick Walker in Clugh, being apprehended by a pairty of his Majesties forces, for his alleadgit being present att and accessory to the murder of the deceist Francis Gairn ane of the Laird of Meldrum his trowp, the said Patrick Walker being examened befor the Lords of Justiciary and bainished by ther Lordships for the said cryme, and therefte[r] remitted by ther Lordships to the said Laird of Meldrum, ay and whyll he showld fynd probation against the said Patrick Walker for being gilty of the said murder; and now seing the said Laird of Meldrum hes sett the said Patrick Walker att liberty, by reason of his great sicknes and indisposition of body, upon the secuirity underwritten; therfor witt yee me, the said George Chalmers, to be bund and obleidged, lykas I, be thir presentts, faithfully binds and obleidges me, my aires, executors and successors, to enter and present the person of the said Patrick Walker to the said Laird of Meldrum att any place quher it shall

happen him to be for the tyme, upon ten days advertisment, and that under the penulty of the sowme of fowr thowsand merks Scots money in caice of failzie, and that by and attowr the performance of the premisses; and farder I, the said George Chalmers, binds and obleidges me and my forsaids that the said Patrick Walker shall live regularly, and not to vaige in armes against his Majestie nor his awthoritie, from the dait of thir presentts ay and whill I be reqwired by the said Laird of Meldrum as said is to present the person of the said Patrick Walker, and that under the pain and penulty of the said sowme of fowr thowsand merks money abovewritten; and, for the mair secuirity, I am content and consents that thir presentts be insert and registrat in the books of Council and Session, or any uthers competent, that letters and executorialls of horning and uthers neidfull may pass heiron, on ane simple charge of six days only, and therto constituts [*blank*] my procurators. In witnes wherof, written be James Hamilton, servitor to Alexr. Ogilvie ane of the Laird of Meldrum his trowp, I have subscribit thir presentts with my hand, att Cannongait, the eight day of November jm vic. eighty fowr yeirs, befor thir witness—Walter Yowng, keeper of the tolbooth of the Cannongait, and Alexr. Minies, wryter in Edinburgh, and the said Alexr. Ogilvie, and the said James Hamilton wryter heirof. Ita est ego Joannes M^crauken notarius publicus de mandato dicti Georgii Chalmers scribere nescientis ut asseruit, testantibus manu mea signoque. Et ego Willielmus Young conotarius publicus in premissis rogatus et requisitus de mandato suprascripti subscribo, testantibus his meis signo et subscriptione manualibus. Walter Young witnes, Alexr. Menzies witnes, A. Ogilvy witnes, Ja. Hamilton witnes.' Indorsed:—'Band of presentation be George Chalmers in Esterinch of Bathgait for Patrick Walker to the Laird of Meldrum, 1684. Received from Alexr. Ogilvie in Meldrum's troup conforme to order, Edinburgh, 17th Nover. 1684. Nota, I gave recept for it.' Patrick's temporary release was of short duration. The following entry from the *Register of the Privy Council, Acta*, is under date 4th December 1684:—'The Lords of his Majesties Privie Councill doe hereby give order and warrant to the clerks of Councill to delyver up to Robert Chalmers, in Easterinsh of Bathgate, a band given by him for produceing Patrick Walker, sone to umquhill Patrick Walker in Cleugh, formerly prisoner as suspect accessory to the murther of some of his Majesties sojors, under the penalty of four thousand merks, in regaird of his produceing the said Patrick Walker this day at the barr; and ordaines the said Patrick Walker to be committed prisoner to the tolbuith of Edinburgh till furder order.'

P. 352, *n.* 6. Wodrow has given an interesting account of the weary march of the prisoners to Dunnottar, and of the barbarous usage to

which they were there subjected (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 322-26). See also *supra*, ii. 142, *n.* 61.

P. 352, *n.* 7. On the 30th of July 1685, the Privy Council ordained that the prisoners at Dunnottar should be brought to Leith by sea, and 'resolved that the Councill meet at Leith when the prisoners arrive there, to sentence them to the plantations or liberat and detain them as they find cause' (*Register of the Privy Council, Acta*). On the 4th of August orders were given for their being brought south by land (*Ibid.*); and on the 17th of August it was 'resolved that the Councill meet to-morrow at Leith, and examine and pronunce sentence against the prisoners from Dunnotar, and liberat or keep prisoners such as they think fitt' (*Ibid.*). Under next day's date there is a long entry in the *Register*, summarising the action of the Council at Leith towards these prisoners. Wodrow has printed this entry (*History*, iv. 221, 222), but has erroneously dated it the 17th, instead of the 18th, of August. Here it is enough to state that fifty-one men, having judicially refused to take or sign the Oath of Allegiance, and twenty-one women, having refused to own his Majesty's authority or to take the Oath of Abjuration, were banished to the plantations, never to return without special licence, under pain of death. All these, with other twenty-three prisoners, who had been 'formerly sentenced to the plantations,' were 'to be delivered to Mr. George Scot of Pitlochie, and by him transported to his Majesties plantations in East New-Jersie, in the ship lying in the road of Leith now bounding thither.' The twenty-three comprised sixteen men and seven women, and one of the men was Patrick Walker. Of the other prisoners, twenty-six men having taken the Oath of Allegiance were to be liberated, after binding themselves under a pecuniary penalty to 'live regularly and orderly' and to appear before the Council when called; and eight women, having owned the King's authority, were to be liberated, after binding themselves, under penalty, 'to keep the kirk and not to harbour and resett rebels.' Of the others, two were dismissed from the bar, and several were continued or otherwise dealt with. On the 20th of August the escape of Robert Goodin, who had been brought from Dunnottar by Captain Hay, is mentioned in the *Register*; and later there are references to escapes and attempted escapes from Leith tolbooth; but I have failed to find in the records any notice of Patrick's escape.

P. 352, *n.* 8. At one of his examinations Patrick was subjected to 'boots and thumbikins' (*supra*, i. 272).

P. 352, *n.* 9. There must have been some misunderstanding regarding the proposed interview of Wodrow and Patrick. Writing on the 2nd of January 1723, Wodrow says, 'In May, at Edinburgh, I heard one

Patrick Walker was about to print somewhat or other about the sufferings, and take some notice of my *History*. I shall be very glad to see that period set in a better light than I was capable to do. I mind, before Mr. Webster's death, he spoke to me about one of that name, and twice at his appointment I came to his house to have met with him, but he never came. I desired what information he had to give, but received nothing. Since, I have heard no more about him. Pray send me all the accounts you have of . . . Walker, and give me the exceptions you hear of at as great length as you can. I shall still be ready to yield to better information' (*Wodrow Correspondence*, iii. 2, 3).

P. 355, *n.* 10. See *supra*, i. 297; ii. 179, *n.* 87.

P. 355, *n.* 11. Wodrow says that William Keagow was executed in December 1684 (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 177).

P. 356, *n.* 12. Patrick, of course, used one of the folio editions of Calderwood's *History*, the earliest of which was issued in 1678, and others in 1680 and 1704. In the Wodrow Society edition, David Black's contendings are duly recorded in vol. v.

P. 357. *n.* 13. After a struggle of more than ten years, Episcopacy was established in Scotland in 1610. The policy and procedure by which this was accomplished have been excellently expounded by M'Crie in his *Life of Andrew Melville*.

P. 357, *n.* 14. James VI. died on the 27th of March 1625.

P. 358, *n.* 15. This account of David Black's latter end is evidently taken from *Scripture Truth Confirmed and Cleared*, 1678, pp. 136, 137. According to Calderwood, Black died very suddenly 'upon Tuisday the 12th of Januar,' 1603, having 'ministred the communion upon the Lord's day immediatlie preceeding' (*History*, Wod. Soc. vi. 195). In 1602 the 12th of January fell on a Tuesday, in 1603 on a Wednesday.

P. 358, *n.* 16. By Rutherfurd's 'publick Letters' Patrick means his published Letters. The first edition (*Joshua Redivivus*) was issued in 1664. 'I heard Principal Carstairs say he heard once great Mr. Baxter, in England, speak of Mr. Rutherford's Letters after a strange manner, though he differed very far from Mr. Rutherford in several other things: "But," said Mr. Baxter, "for that book of letters hold off the Bible, such a book the world never saw the like!" "Which," said Mr. Carstairs, "was a great token and evidence to me of Mr. Baxter's true piety"' (Wodrow's *Analecta*, iii. 89).

P. 359, *n.* 17. 'The Parliament . . . were pleased, when every body knew Mr. Rutherford to be in a dying condition, to cause cite him to appear before them at Edinburgh, to answer to a charge of high treason. But he had a higher tribunal to appear before, where his Judge was his friend' (Wodrow's *History*, i. 205, 206). From the Minutes of Parlia-

ment it appears that the stipend due before his death had been sequestrated; but, on the 19th of April 1661, the sequestration was 'taken aff in favors of his relict' (*Acts of Parliament*, vii. app. p. 60).

P. 359, *n.* 18. They were apprehended when convened in Robert Simpson's house in Edinburgh on the 23rd of August 1660 (Wodrow's *History*, i. 66-72).

P. 360, *n.* 19. Rutherfurd did not die on the 28th of February, the date given by Patrick, nor on the 20th of March, the date given on his tombstone, but on the 29th of March 1661. Wodrow (*History*, i. 206) is in error in saying that he died the day before the Act Rescissory was passed; he died the day after.

P. 361, *n.* 20. Patrick has evidently drawn this account of Rutherfurd's death from *The Fulfilling of the Scripture*. Cf. 1671 ed. pp. 421, 422.

P. 361, *n.* 21. 'The Earl [of Glencairn] dealt with the Archbishop of Glasgow to get Mr. Guthrie kept in his kirk, but the Bishop would by no means hearken to him, and said he was a most disloyal and seditious man, and was not to be tollerated at all; which greatly disgusted the Earl at the Bishop' (James Stirling, in Wodrow's *Analecta*, iii. 69).

P. 362, *n.* 22. 'Mr. William [Guthry], a great many years before, predicted that Mr. James Guthry would be hanged, and he would dye of the gravell; both which came to passe' (Wodrow's *Analecta*, i. 47).

P. 362, *n.* 23. 'Mr. William Guthry . . . was put out 1664, dyed at Brechin about a year after, not of the gravel, though much afflicted with it throu his life' (Wodrow's *Analecta*, i. 169). So Wodrow wrote in 1709. According to James Stirling, 'He died in Brichan, with his brother-in-lau, Mr. Skinner, and had great pains of the gravel upon him. They were so vehement that he said he would have been content to have digged his grave with his very nails; that was in 1665' (*Ibid.* iii. 69). John Livingstone says:—'He was much and often troubled with the gravell, whereof he dyed in the year 1665, 10th October, in the town of Brichan in Angus' (*Select Biographies*, Wodrow Society, i. 335). In the account of him prefixed to the 1724 (Edinburgh) edition of his *Christian's Great Interest* it is said:—'He was seized by a complication of distempers, the gravel, with which he had been frequently tortured, the gout, and a violent heart-burning, at once attacking him with great fury: the agonies which those three terrible engines of pain occasioned were almost insupportable. . . . After eight or ten days illness he was gathered to his fathers.' A small volume, entitled 'Memoir and Letters of the Rev. William Guthrie,' was published in 1827; and Mr. Carslaw issued his 'Life and Times of William Guthrie' in 1900.

P. 363, *n.* 24. *Supra*, i. 40.

P. 363, *n.* 25. *Supra*, i. 95.

P. 363, *n.* 26. Luke xvi. 31.

P. 364, *n.* 27. A small 12-page tract bears the following title:—'A Further Mite of Testimony, in a few mo short Remarks upon that Church-corrupting and ruining vile Abomination of Patronages, which have been a grievous yoke and heavy burden upon the churches of Christ, ever since Antichristian Tyranny raged through the world; now willingly submitted unto, complied with, and practised; which is one of the many great National Sins, Snares, and deep Defections of this back-sliden and upsitten age. In a Letter to a Friend. Published by Patrick Walker, and to be sold at his house within Bristo-port, at the Upper-gate of the Grayfriars Church, 1731.' The letter, which is dated 'May 24, 1731,' is anonymous, and bears no resemblance whatever to Patrick Walker's style; but the title-page has certainly been written by him. This was not the only tract, other than his own writings, which Patrick published. He issued three at least of Ebenezer Erskine's sermons. One of these—entitled, 'God's Little Remnant keeping their Garments Clean in an Evil Day'—bears the imprint: 'Printed in the year MDCCXXV. And are to be sold by Patrick Walker at his house within Bristo Port.' Another—entitled, 'The Believer Exalted in Imputed Righteousness'—has the imprint: 'Edinburgh, Printed for Patrick Walker, and sold at his house within Bristo-Port. MDCCXXVIII.' The third—entitled, 'The Humble Soul the peculiar Favourite of Heaven'—has this imprint: 'Edinburgh, Printed by Thomas Lumisden and John Robertson; and sold by Patrick Walker, at his house within Bristo-Port. MDCCXXVIII.'

NOTES TO CARGILL AND SMITH

P. 3, *n.* 1. According to the first edition of *The Scots Worthies* (1775, p. 380), 'Mr. Cargill seems to have been born sometime about the year 1619.' In all likelihood John Howie arrived at this date through Patrick Walker's statement that Cargill was 'past sixty' at his martyrdom in 1681. In the second edition of *The Scots Worthies* (1781, p. 419) Howie repeats his indefinite statement about the date of Cargill's birth, with the single variation that 1610 is substituted for 1619. This difference may be the result of a misprint, or of a broken type; but it has found its way into subsequent editions, with the result that some writers have accepted 1610 and others 1619 as the approximate year of the martyr's birth. Dr. Charles Rogers, thinking he had settled the matter, wrote:—'So long as parish registers remained in the hands of the local custodiers, biographical and historical writers were liable to be at fault both in fixing dates and determining pedigrees. Thus, Mr. Donald Cargill, the celebrated Covenanter, is described as the eldest son of Cargill of Hatton, and as born at Rattray about the year 1619. By the parish register of Rattray we learn differently. Thus: "6th April 1610. Quhilk day Thomas Cargill, cotter, in Chappeltoune, and Janet Steill his spouse, haid ane son baptized, callit Donald—the witnesses Donald Cargill, vicar of Rattray, and Andro Quhyt in Chapeltoune"' (*Social Life in Scotland*, 1884, i. 146, 147). Had Dr. Rogers looked a little further into the same *Register* he would have found that the matter was not to be settled quite so easily. Under date 23rd June 1616 there is this other entry:—'Johne Cargill of Haltoune of Rattray and Jeane Gray his spouse haid ane sone baptisit callit Donald, quha was borne upon the auchteine day of Junii instant, being Tuysday, about ellevine houris at nycht. Witnesses, Patrick Butter of Gormok, Donald Cargill vicar of Rattray,' etc. Again, under 22nd March 1618, there is still this other entry:—'Walter Cargill in Lincomes and Bessie Moreson his spous had ane sone baptisit callit Donald, quha wes borne upon the twentie day of Marche instant, being Friday, about aucht houris at nycht. Witnesses, Donald Cargill vicar of Rattray, John Cargill his sone.' For these two extracts I am indebted to my friend the Rev. Walter Macleod.

It is clear that there were no fewer than three Donald Cargills born and baptized in the parish of Rattray between 1610 and 1618; and one of the witnesses to all the three baptisms was another Donald Cargill, described on each occasion as 'vicar of Rattray.' To me it seems certain that none of these four Donalds could be the martyr. The vicar was much too old. Thomas and Walter do not come up to Patrick Walker's description of the martyr's father—'a gentleman and heritor'—therefore their Donalds drop out, unless Patrick can be shown to have been in serious error on this point. With the remaining Donald, the son of John Cargill, laird of 'Haltoune of Rattray,' born in 1616, there is more difficulty. He cannot be rejected on the score of age or the social position of his father. Writing in 1837, and with all the advantage of local tradition, the minister of Rattray affirmed that the martyr was the eldest son of the 'proprietor of an estate called Hatton' (*New Statistical Account*, x. 241). Hew Scott asserted the same (*Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, ii. 39). They were perhaps misled by an entry in Gloag's *Rental of the County of Perth for* 1649, which was published in 1835. It runs thus:—'Donald Cargill for his part of Hattone and Kirktoune of Ratteray one hundreth thirteene punds six shilling eight pennies.' This Donald was undoubtedly the son of 'Johne Cargill of Haltoune of Rattray'; but there is conclusive evidence that he was not the martyr. Among the papers of Captain Hill Whitson of Parkhill, which he kindly allowed me to examine, there are several documents which throw light on the martyr's parentage and family relations. One of these bears that at Perth, on the 8th of July 1665, in presence of Patrick Anderson, sheriff-depute, Isobel Drummond, spouse of Donald Cargill, of Hattone of Rattray, heritable feuar of the lands and others after specified, having been sworn, outwith the presence of her husband, ratifies the contract betwixt her said husband and her on the one part, and 'Mr. Donald Cargill, eldest laufull sone to Lawrance Cargill somtyme of Bonytoone,' on the other part, of the date of these presents, by which the first party sold to the second party the town and lands of Haltoun of Rattray, sometime possessed by the deceased John Cargill of Haltoun, father to the said Donald; also all and haill that 'shadow aucht pairt somtyme [possessed] be the said deceist Johne Cargill and Lawrance Cargill his brother,' and now presently by himself. In this document there are two Donalds mentioned—Donald the husband of Isobel Drummond, and son of John Cargill of Hatton (*i.e.* Hall-town) of Rattray; and 'Mr. Donald,' eldest lawful son of Lawrance Cargill of Bonytoun. As it was the custom of that period to prefix the title of 'Mr.' to a minister's name, it is natural, in choosing between these two Donalds, to fix on 'Mr. Donald' as the martyr; and other considerations confirm the choice. But this

document not only indicates that the martyr was the son of Laurence Cargill, it also proves that John, the father of the other Donald, had a brother Laurence, and it may be presumed that this Laurence and the father of 'Mr. Donald' were one and the same, and so these two Donalds would be cousins. This Laurence Cargill was alive in 1649, for in Gloag's *Rental* there is this other entry:—'Lawrence Cargill for Bougtoune of Ratteray fourscore ten punds.' *Bougtoune* is, of course, a misprint or a misreading of the MS. for *Bonytoune*. Another of Captain Hill Whitson's papers is a contract, dated at Edinburgh, 25th November 1673, betwixt 'Mr. Donald Cargill of Haltoune of Rattray,' on the one part, and 'James Cargill in Bonitoune of Rattray his brother germane, and Kaitarin Ramsay his spous,' on the other part; by which Mr. Donald sells to his said brother and his spouse, the longest liver of them, etc., for 1800 merks Scots, certain acres of lands, of all and haill the town and lands of Haltoun of Rattray. In an instrument of sasine, dated 8th November 1626, Laurence Cargill of Nether Cloquhatt appears as a witness, and the notary was John Cargill, eldest lawful son of the late Donald Cargill, notary in Kirktoun of Rattray (*Laing Charters*, No. 1981). Mr. Macleod informs me that in the *Register of the Great Seal* there is, on 26th July 1634, confirmation of a charter (dated at Alyth, 10th February, 1630) by William Chalmer of Nether Cloquhat to Laurence Cargill, sometime in Kirktoun of Rattray, then in Nether Cloquhat, of lands in Nether Cloquhat. And on 27th May 1634 the same Laurence, with consent of Marjorie Blair his wife, granted a charter of the same lands to Finlay Cuthbert *alias* M'Invoir. This Laurence I take to be the father of the martyr; and, if he were not twice married, Marjorie Blair would be the martyr's mother. In the *Laing Charters* (No. 1540), John Cargill the notary above-mentioned is found designing himself, in 1609, as a notary and oldest son of Donald Cargill notary in Kirktoun of Rattray. It was probably this Donald (No. 1223) who was a notary in 1591, and the Laurence Cargill (No. 2132) notary in 1633 and 1634 may, I think, be identified as the martyr's father. In the *Register of Bonds*, in the sheriff-clerk's office at Perth, I have found a number of references to 'Laurence Cargill in Bonitoune of Rattray,' ranging from 1640 to 1652. In many of the documents there recorded, he is described as 'wreater heiroff.' In 1650, he, and James Blair of Ardblair and Mr. Thomas Lundy, minister at Rattray (see *supra*, i. 92), granted a bond to John Wilson in Parkhead for £148 Scots. In the same *Register*, I found a contract of marriage dated 24th November 1640, which sheds some additional light on the martyr's relatives. The contract is betwixt 'John Rattray of Neather Balcoume,' on the one part, and 'Janet Cargille, dochter laufull to umquhill John Cargille of Haltoune of

Rattray, with consent of Donald Cargille nowe of Haltoune her brother germane, on the uther pairt.' This John Rattray, to whom the martyr's cousin was married, is described as son and nearest heir of Mr. Silvester Rattray of Persie, and his mother as Marie Steuart. Not the least important point in this marriage-contract is that it proves that John Cargill of Haltoun of Rattray was dead by 1640, and that therefore he could not have been the father of the martyr, who (see *infra*, *n.* 3) after 1645 pressed his son to study divinity. The martyr married Margaret Brown, widow of Andrew Bethune of Blebo. She died, on the 12th of August 1656, within a year and a day of her marriage with Cargill. Five children by her first husband survived her (*Register of Confirmed Testaments, Glasgow,* quoted in Wylie's edition of *The Scots Worthies,* p. 526). Andrew Bethune had bought Blebo in 1649, and died on the 3rd of June 1653 (*Lamont's Diary,* Maitland Club, pp. 6, 55). In the *Kirk-Session Register* in the possession of Mr. Hunter, present minister of Rattray, there is the following entry, under date 5th August 1666, 'Quhilk day ane testimoniall was granted to Donald Cargill sometime of Haltown and his wife.' This is another proof that the Donald Cargill who sold the 'Haltoun of Rattray' to Mr. Donald was not the martyr, as his wife, Margaret Brown, had been dead for ten years, and there is not the slightest hint anywhere that he was married oftener than once. Mr. William Davie, of Woodbrae, Dunkeld, informs me that his uncle lived for several years, towards the end of the eighteenth century, at the Hatton of Rattray, and 'that there was then quite a hamlet or small village at the place, and the martyr's birthplace was pointed out almost on the site of the present farmhouse.' Several of the old local traditions concerning Cargill have been preserved by Mr. Davie. One of these is that, on one occasion, when he was preaching on 'the Haerchen Hill,' at the Kirk Wynd, Blairgowrie, an alarm was raised, and a number of armed men made a rush to capture him. His intimate knowledge of the district saved him. Hotly followed by his pursuers, he reached 'the rocky chasm which picturesquely narrows the river known as the Keith, and there, taking a long leap, got safely to the other side, a feat which none of his would-be captors dare attempt, and so the pursuit had to be abandoned. The point of rock is still known as Cargill's Loup.' Mr. Davie further says that, according to old traditions, Cargill also preached on Braid-Moss. Near the present farmsteading of Hatton, an old house was taken down some eighty years ago, which is said to have been known as 'Cargill's House,' and an aged 'bourtree' or 'bountree' there is still known as Cargill's. On the 4th of July 1690, Parliament rescinded the doom of 'forefaulture' against Cargill (*Acts of Parliament,* ix. 165); and in the Chancery Office of the

Register House there is evidence to show that, in 1721, Laurence Cargill, woollen draper, in Black-burnslie in Yorkshire, was retoured as heir-general to his grand-uncle, Mr. Donald Cargill, minister of the Barony Kirk, Glasgow.

P. 3, *n.* 2. In the neighbourhood of Rattray, at least, old people seem to regard Daniel as the equivalent of Donald; but Professor Mackinnon assures me that the two names 'have no relation with each other apart from some similarity of sound,' although some of his countrymen 'doff the latter and don the former.'

P. 3, *n.* 3. In Sir Robert Hamilton's account of Cargill, it is said: 'After he had perfected his philosophy course at the University of St. Andrews, his father, a godly and religious gentleman, pressed much upon him to study divinity in order to fit him for the ministry; but he thro' his great tenderness of spirit constantly refused. . . . But his father still urging, he resolved to seek the mind of the Lord therein, and for that end set apart a day of private fasting, and after long and earnest wrestling with the Lord by prayer, the 3 chap. of Ezekiel's prophesie, and chiefly these words in the first verse: "Son of man eat this roll and go speak unto the House of Israel," made a strong impression upon his mind, so that he durst never after refuse his father's desire to betake himself to that study, and dedicate himself wholly to that office. And, having got a call to the Barony parish of Glasgow, Divine Providence ordered it so that the first text upon which the Presbytery ordered him to preach was in these very words of the third of Ezekiel' (*Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, p. 261). Some modern writers, with the view perhaps of reconciling Patrick Walker and Sir Robert Hamilton on the matter, allege that Cargill was educated at the Universities of Aberdeen and St. Andrews. There does not seem to be any trace of Cargill in the *Registers* of Aberdeen University; but the *Register of Matriculations* at St. Andrews shows that he matriculated as a student of St. Salvator's College in 1645, when he signed as 'Donaldus Cargill.' He does not appear to have graduated.

P. 3, *n.* 4. Cargill was licensed by the Presbytery of St. Andrews on the 13th of April 1653, was called to the Barony, Glasgow, and ordained there in 1655, and was deprived in 1662 (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 39).

P. 4, *n.* 5. 'We shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy,' etc. (*Solemn League and Covenant*).

P. 5, *n.* 6. See *supra*, ii. 122, *n.* 19.

P. 5, *n.* 7. Patrick has here confounded Cromwell and Monk. Oliver died on the 3rd of September 1658; Monk recrossed the border on the 1st of January 1660.

P. 5, *n.* 8. *Supra*, i. 7, 345.

P. 6, *n.* 9. Patrick has drawn this from *A Brief Historical Relation of the Life of Mr. John Livingston*, of which a quarto edition was printed in 1727. In that edition, Livingston's account of his mission to Breda will be found on pp. 29-39. It is now more accessible in the *Select Biographies*, Wodrow Society, i. 170-83.

P. 8, *n.* 10. There is a briefer account of this service in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, p. 262.

P. 9, *n.* 11. Accounts of the Torwood excommunication are in the *Hind let Loose*, 1687, pp. 138, 139; *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, pp. 265-68; and, with the lecture which preceded it and the sermon which followed it, in Howie's *Collection of Sermons and Lectures*, 1779, pp. 449-69.

P. 9, *n.* 12. *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, pp. 1, 2.

P. 10, *n.* 13. *Supra*, ii. 133, *n.* 25.

P. 10, *n.* 14. James VII. died at St. Germains in September 1701. He fell ill in chapel in the preceding spring, when the anthem was being sung, 'Remember O Lord what is come upon us: consider and behold our reproach. Our inheritance is turned to strangers, our honour to aliens.' This 'made such an impression on his Majesty that he never perfectly recover'd it, although he went to the waters of Bourbon.' A fortnight before he died, he 'was seized again with a fainting in the chappel just as he had been at first. . . . About three in the afternoon [he] rendered his pious soul into the hands of his Redeemer; the day of the week and hour wherein our Saviour dyed, and on which he always practised a particular devotion to obtain a happy death' (Clarke's *Life of James the Second*, 1816, ii. 591-99). Had Patrick known how the dying king lost his blood by vomiting and otherwise, he would no doubt have 'read his sin in his judgment.'

P. 10, *n.* 15. Monmouth was executed on the 15th of July 1685.

P. 10, *n.* 16. '24 of August 1682, dyed John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale, the learnedest and powerfullest minister of state in his age, at Tunbridge wells. Discontent and age ware the ingredients in his death, if his Dutchesse and physitians be freed of it; for shee had abused him most grosely, and got all from him she could expect' (Fountainhall's *Historical Observes*, p. 74). 'The Bischop of Edinburgh (who was once his creature, but follows all courts) preached the [funeral] sermon at Inveresk; the text was 1 Corinthi. 15, v. 55. "O death wheir is thy sting: O grave wheir is thy victory?"' (*Ibid.* p. 93).

P. 10, *n.* 17. The profligacy and drunkenness of Rothes were notorious (Fountainhall's *Historical Observes*, pp. 44, 45; Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice*, 1832, pp. 377, 378). Several Presbyterian ministers were with him in his last illness. 'He appeared concerned

upon views of eternity, and the Reverend Mr. John Carstairs, upon his desire, waited upon him and prayed with him, the Duke of Hamilton and many others of his noble relations being present; and few were present without being affected very sensibly' (Wodrow's *History*, iii. 356).

P. 10, *n.* 18. Sir George Mackenzie died at London on 8th May 1691. 'Absurd stories were circulated about him. It was said that he had died in agony, "all the passages of his body running blood, like Charles IX. of France, author of the Paris massacre"; and that the physicians who attended him declared that it was no natural disease, but the hand of God upon him for the blood he had shed in Scotland' (Omond's *Lord Advocates of Scotland*, 1883, i. 234). A woman, who waited on him several nights before he died, told Wodrow's informant 'that when in the room with him, and the candles wer burning, and the fire strong, both went out suddainly, and that for two nights successively. That the blood indeed broke out at all the veins in his body, and that sensibly' (Wodrow's *Analecta*, ii. 212). By another account he 'was boaking and vomiting blood in great quantity' (*Ibid.* p. 315).

P. 10, *n.* 19. General Dalzell died 'very suddenly' in August 1685 (Fountainhall's *Historical Observes*, p. 215).

P. 10, *n.* 20. *Supra*, i. 230.

P. 11, *n.* 21. 'For all the numerous brood of his adulterous and incestuous brats, begotten of other men's wives and of his numerous multitude of whores at home and abroad, yea of his oun sister too, he died a childless pultron, and had the unlamented burial of an ass [Jer. xxii. 19], without a successor save him that murdered him' (*Hind let Loose*, 1687, p. 146). 'The king was this night [14th February] very obscurely buried in a vault under Henry Seventh's Chapell at Westminster, without any manner of pomp, and soone forgotten' (Evelyn's *Diary*). 'It was alledged to have been the king's own desire to be so interred; others said it was unfit to make a publick solemnity, unlesse it had exceided in splendor Cromwell's funerall, which would have been very expensive' (Fountainhall's *Historical Observes*, p. 150).

P. 12, *n.* 22. In June 1680 the Privy Council offered a reward of five thousand merks to any one who would bring in Richard Cameron dead or alive, and three thousand merks apiece for Thomas Douglas, Donald Cargill, or Michael Cameron (Wodrow's *History*, iii. 216, 217). This was immediately after the publishing of Sanquhar Declaration. After Torwood excommunication, the reward offered for Cargill's apprehension was increased to five thousand merks (*Ibid.* ii. 230, 231).

P. 12, *n.* 23. *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, pp. 262-65.

P. 13, *n.* 24. James Hamilton and John Pairk (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 170, 179). The latter seems to have been rewarded (Wodrow's *History*, iii. 206).

P. 14, *n.* 25. In the account of the worthy Henry Hall of Haughhead in the *Cloud of Witnesses* (1714, pp. 268-70), it is said: 'His corps they carried to the Canongate Tolbooth, and kept them there three days without burial, tho' a number of friends conveened for that effect, and thereafter they caused bury him clandestinly in the night.' Wodrow, who says that Hall was 'a friend and relation of the Earl of Roxburgh,' adopts in his notice of him (*History of the Sufferings*, iii. 205, 206) the statement of the *Cloud* as to his burial. When Patrick says, 'None can give an account how they disposed on his corpse,' he perhaps means that no one knows where he is buried.

P. 14, *n.* 26. According to a contemporary:—'About the first of Junij Capitan Midltoune, governor of Blaknes, aprehended ane Capitane Hall with ane Mr. [*blank*] M^{c}Gill (*sic*) a whig minister; bot the minister having escaped upon Capitane Midltounes horse, and left his awine horse with ane pokmantie one him, ther wes fund in the pokmantie ane number off peapers, amongst the rest wes ane new covenant, which wes meikle worse then the first, to destroy the King and all that famillie' (*MS. Diary* belonging to Mr. John Cochrane). Wodrow says that this document —afterwards called the Queensferry Paper—was found in Hall's pocket (*History of the Sufferings*, iii. 207). See *infra*, p. 225.

P. 14, *n.* 27. James Wemyss (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 190, 191).

P. 14, *n.* 28. A William Panton was imprisoned for harbouring Cargill. The Council resolved to liberate him 'on bond of a thousand pounds, to answer when called' (Wodrow's *History*, iii. 196).

P. 16, *n.* 29. For Skene and Archibald Stuart, see *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, pp. 52-69; Wodrow's *History*, iii. 225-28. For Marion Harvie and Isabel Alison, see *supra*, ii. 132, *n.* 19, and 177, *n.* 79.

P. 17, *n.* 30. *Supra*, i. 280-86.

P. 18, *n.* 31. *Supra*, i. 223, 224.

P. 21, *n.* 32. *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, pp. 11-16. This letter is also in Wodrow's *History*, iii. 353-55; but in the heading 'Canongate tolbooth' is substituted for 'Correction-House of Edinburgh.'

P. 24, *n.* 33. This 'blasphemous paper' is printed in Wodrow's *History*, iii. 350-53. Among the *Laing Manuscripts* in the Edinburgh University Library, there is a printed copy, 8 pp. folio. Gibb and the other three subscribers 'renounce and decline all authority throughout the world, and all that are in authority, and all their acts and edicts, from the tyrant Charles Stuart to the lowest tyrant'; and thus refer to their own zeal and sufferings: 'We have mourned fasted and prayed many a day, and many a night this last winter, many times in the open fields, in frost and snow, while our clothes were frozen upon us, and our feet frozen in our shooes, as the town of cursed Borrowstouness can witness.'

P. 24, *n.* 34. Kirkton says: 'I heard once an honest minister, who was a parishoner of Mr. Welsh many a day, say that one night as he watched in his garden very late, and some friends waiting upon him in house, and wearying because of his long stay, one of them chanced to open a window towards the place where he walked, and saw clearly a strange light surround him, and heard him speak strange words about his spiritual joy' (*History of Mr. John Welsh*, 1703, pp. 10, 11).

P. 24, *n.* 35. *Supra*, i. 157, 158.

P. 25, *n.* 36. Helen Alexander, who was imprisoned at this time, says:—'But that which was sorest to me, I was brought down from the room where I was, and put in the room where were John Gib, and Jameson, and one Sanders Monteith, and Ann Stewart, all vile and abominable blasphemers. That woman would have sewed her seams and wrought on the Lord's day, and when we were praying and singing and reading, they did interrupt us. O what grief of heart it was to me to hear and see their blasphemy. They would have said they knew of no heaven or hell, nor no God. And how beastly they were in lying with one another. And I thought or I had been another Sabbath in their company I would rather chosen to go to a gibbet; for this their carriage to me was like death' (*Passages in the Lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie*, 1869, p. 8).

P. 25, *n.* 37. For George Jackson, see *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, pp. 237-40.

P. 26, *n.* 38. From the *Register of the Privy Council, Acta*, under date 30th July 1685, it is learned that Robert Barclay of Urie, who had 'a ship bounding for East New Jersye,' asked for and received the grant of twenty-four prisoners to transport to the plantations. Under next day's date there is a list of the prisoners to be delivered to him, and that list includes a John Gib. In the same *Register*, under date 7th August 1685, the name John Gib occurs in a long list of prisoners previously sentenced to banishment, who were now to be handed over to John Ewing, who had a ship in readiness, bounding for the plantations in Jamaica.

P. 26, *n.* 39. In the 'blasphemous paper,' *David Jamie* appears as *David Jamison*.

P. 26, *n.* 40. For Wodrow's account of the Gibbites, see his *History of the Sufferings*, iii. 348-55.

P. 32, *n.* 41. See *Memoirs of Elizabeth Wast*, 1730, pp. 102-104; Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, iii. 225-29.

P. 34, *n.* 42. There seems to be some mistake here. Perhaps he reckons the barley in Scots money and pease in sterling.

P. 35, *n.* 43. In 1681 the 5th of May fell on a Thursday. Wodrow

says that 'the soldiers at Glasgow getting notice of this [service] immediately seized all the horses in town and about it, and mounted in quest of him; but he got off at this time: yea, such was their haste and fury that one of them who happened to be behind the rest, and furiously riding down the street called the Stockwell in the middle of the day, rode over a child and killed her on the spot' (*History of the Sufferings*, iii. 279).

P. 42, *n.* 44. This sermon on Isaiah x. 3 was printed with a lecture on 2 Chron. xix. 1 *et seq.*, with the title:—'A Lecture and Sermon preached at different times by that faithfull and painfull minister of the gospel, and now glorified martyr, Mr. Donald Cargill.' They form a quarto pamphlet of 22 pp., without printer's name, place, or date; but were apparently issued in the early part of the eighteenth century.

P. 44, *n.* 45. *Supra*, i. 350.

P. 45, *n.* 46. In the *Register of the Privy Council* there are many references to George Scot of Pitlochie (a son of Sir John Scot of *Staggering State* fame) in connection with the transportation of banished Covenanters. There are also references to John Ewing, to Robert Malloch merchant in Edinburgh, to Walter Gibson in Glasgow, to Robert Barclay of Urie, to William Arbuckle merchant in Glasgow, and to Sir Robert Gordon, younger of Gordonstoun, and Sir John his brother, who all got gifts of prisoners for transportation. To Pitlochie, as Wodrow has pointed out (*History*, iv. 332, 333), the venture proved to be a most disastrous one. Wodrow also refers (*Ibid.* iv. 10, 11) to the hardships endured by the prisoners committed to Gibson. Patrick was at first to have been transported by Malloch (*supra*, ii. 192, *n.* 3), who was in trouble, in 1677, for committing an assault in the court-house, while the Lords were examining witnesses (Fountainhall's *Historical Notices*, i. 172, 173); and who raised an action, in 1687, against an advocate for branding him 'as a cheat and falsary' (*Ibid.* ii. 814).

P. 46, *n.* 47. The *Solemn League and Covenant* begins with the words:—'We, noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, and commons of all sorts.'

P. 47, *n.* 48. This quotation is from the last paragraph of the *National Covenant* of 1638.

P. 48, *n.* 49. This lecture and sermon are both included in Howie's *Collection of Lectures and Sermons*, 1779, pp. 491-507.

P. 49, *n.* 50. In Howie's *Collection* this sermon ends with the words:—'Rest you there till the dove come back to the ark with the olive-leaf in her mouth.'

P. 51, *n.* 51. The reward was five thousand merks (*supra*, ii. 205, *n.* 22). Writing to the Earl of Queensberry on the 13th of July 1681, the Duke

of Hamilton says:—'Cargill and two more preachers, on Smith and Broun [*i.e.* Boig], were taken last night at Covington Mill by a party of Captan Stuart's dragoons, whoes lieutenant was just now with me' (*Drumlanrig Manuscripts*, 1897, p. 240). Walter Smith says:—'We were singularly delivered by Providence into the adversaries' hand, and (for what I could learn) were betrayed by none, nor were any accessory to our taking more than we were ourselves, and particularly let none blame the Lady St. Johnskirk in this' (*Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, p. 19).

P. 52, *n.* 52. John Paterson was Bishop of Galloway from 1674 to 1679 (Keith's *Catalogue*, 1755, pp. 167, 168); of Edinburgh from 1679 to 1687 (*Ibid.* p. 40); and Archbishop of Glasgow from 1687 until the Revolution (*Ibid.* p. 160).

P. 52, *n.* 53. 'Robert Gooden' was one of fourteen 'prisoners in the tolbuiths of Edinburgh and Cannogate' whom the Privy Council resolved, on the 6th of August 1684, to hand over to Robert Malloch for transportation (*Register of the Privy Council*). This resolution does not appear to have been carried out in Gooden's case, for, as already mentioned (*supra*, ii. 195, *n.* 7), 'Robert Goodin,' who had been at Dunnottar, escaped in August 1685.

P. 52, *n.* 54. Wodrow, who describes this John Nisbet as 'a hater of godliness and the truly religious, a besotted drunkard and mocker at piety, and at present the Archbishop's factor,' tells practically the same story as to his taunting Cargill, Cargill's reproof, and the judgment that followed (*History of the Sufferings*, iii. 279).

P. 53, *n.* 55. On the 10th of the preceding July, Rothes had been 'so dangerously ill that no body expected his life' (*Drumlanrig Manuscripts*, 1897, p. 240). Fountainhall says nothing about Rothes threatening Cargill or about Cargill's reply; but his chronology shows that Rothes died shortly before Cargill's execution. He states that Cargill, Smith, Boig, Cuthil, and Thomson 'ware tryed at the criminal court, and found guilty of treason and treasonable principles,' on the 26th of July; that Rothes died at Holyrood that night; and that the five condemned men were hanged on the 27th, at the Market Cross of Edinburgh (*Historical Observes*, pp. 44, 45). The copy of the *Solemn League and Covenant* signed at St. Andrews is still preserved there in the University Library. The first column of the names of the students of the Old College (St. Salvator's) is headed by the Earl of Rothes, and in another column stands the name of Donald Cargill. How different the career of the two students!—the one despising the oath he had sworn, and giving himself up to worldly aggrandisement and sensual pleasure, the other strenuously contending for the binding obligation of that oath,

and acting on the principle that to get God glorified upon earth was more even than heaven.

P. 53, *n.* 56. Lady Rothes 'used to frequent conventicles at Glenvail, and supported several of the persecuted ministers. The Earl, on her account, winked at them, and was in the habit of saying, when he happened to see any of them about the house, "My lady, I would advise you to keep your chickens in about, else I may pick up some of them"' (M'Crie's *Veitch and Brysson,* 1825, p. 295 *n.*).

P. 54, *n.* 57. *Supra,* ii. 204, *n.* 17.

P. 54, *n.* 58. 'When the Duke of York heard that Presbyterian ministers had been with the Chancellor, he is said to have had this expression, "That all Scotland were either Presbyterian through their life, or at their death, profess what they would"' (Wodrow's *History,* iii. 356).

P. 55, *n.* 59. Fountainhall says:—'They [*i.e.* the other four] dyed all a great deall more stout and firme then ther leader Cargil, who behaved most timorously to save his life (if it could have been converted to banishment) and minched ther principles, and begged for a longer tyme, that he might be judged in Parliament; but finding ther was no remedy, he put on more stayednesse and resolution after his sentence' (*Historical Observes,* p. 45). This charge of timidity is not borne out by the official account of his examination before the Privy Council, which account is printed by Wodrow (*History of the Sufferings,* iii. 279-81).

P. 56, *n.* 60. In 1705, Wodrow writes:—'My father told me that Mr. Donald Cargill for a long time, some twenty or thirty years befor his death or mor, he does not mind, was never under doubts as to his interest; and the reason was it was made knouen to him in ane extraordinary way; and the way was this as Mr. Cargill told my father. When he was in his youth he was naturally hasty and fiery, and he fell under deep soul-exercise, and that in a very high degree; and for a long time, after all means used, publick and private; and the trouble still increasing, he at lenth came to a positive conclusion to make away [with] himself, and accordingly went out more then once to droun himself in a watter; but he was still scarred by people coming by, or somwhat or other. At lenth, after severall essays, he takes on a resolution to take a time and place wher nothing should stope; and goes out early one morning by break of day to a coal-pitt, and when he comes to it, and none at all about, he comes to the brink of it to throu himself in; and just as he is going to jump in, he heard ane audible voice from heaven, "Son, be of good chear, thy sins be forgiven thee!" and that stoped him. And he said to my father, after that he never gote leave to doubt of his interest' (Wodrow's *Analecta,* i. 69).

P. 57, *n.* 61. *Supra*, ii. 189, *n.* 73.

P. 57, *n.* 62. *Hind let Loose*, 1687, pp. 130-41. The compilers of the *Cloud of Witnesses*, being unable to give 'any exact and full history' of Cargill, printed (1714 edition, pp. 260-65) the 'accounts collected by that worthy and religious gentleman, Sir Robert Hamiltoun of Prestoun,' with his 'personal character of Mr. Cargil.' In his *Collection of Lectures and Sermons* (1779, pp. 514-16), John Howie has inserted 'A few Remarkable Passages concerning Mr. Donald Cargill,' which were also 'wrote by Sir Robert Hamilton.'

P. 58, *n.* 63. *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, pp. 1-16. Cargill's letter to James Skene, who suffered martyrdom eight months before him, is thus wound up:—'Farewell dearest friend, never to see one another any more, till at the right hand of Christ. Fear not, and the God of mercies grant a full gale and a fair entrie into his kingdom, that may carrie sweetly and swiftly over the bar, that you find not the rub of death. Grace, mercy and peace be with you.' One can hardly fail to be struck by the resemblance of Cargill's metaphor to that so beautifully expressed by Tennyson.

P. 58, *n.* 64. In Wodrow's account of Cargill's examination and condemnation there is nothing as to Argyle's vote sending him to the scaffold. Unfortunately, Wodrow does not give the sederunt of those meetings of Privy Council, and since he wrote the volume of the *Register, Acta*, covering that period, has been lost. The *Decreta* volume, however, shows that meetings were held on the 12th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 26th of July, and that Argyle was present on all these occasions.

P. 58, *n.* 65. The explication with which Argyle took the Test is in Wodrow's *History*, iii. 314.

P. 59, *n.* 66. On the 8th of November 1681, Argyle was ordered to ward himself in Edinburgh Castle, because, 'by the written explanation he offered on the Test,' he 'had misconstrued the King's laws, and studied to sow sedition and leasings betuen the King and his peeple' (Fountainhall's *Historical Notices*, i. 336). 'On the 12 and 13 of December 1681 was Archbald Earle of Argile brought to his tryall upon the indytment of treason; wheir I was on of his advocats. . . . The criminall justiciars, notwithstanding the defences, fand the explanation given in by the Earle to contain the crimes libelled, wheirupon probation being led, and the same remitted to the knowledge of ane assise, they by ther verdict returned him guilty of treason, leising making,' etc. 'The Earle made his escape out of the Castle of Edinburgh on the 20 of December at night; and on the 23 of December therafter the sentence of death, forfaulter, taynting of blood, &c., was pronounced against him' (*Historical*

Observes, p. 53). 'Of Argile's case, they say the Earle of Hallifax had this expression to the King, that he knew not the Scots law, but by the law of England that explanation could not hang his dog' (*Ibid.* p. 55). He escaped from Edinburgh Castle 'under the disguise of [a] page, and holding up the train of Lady Sophia Lindsay, his step-daughter, and sister to the Earle of Balcarrhouse' (*Historical Notices,* i. 343).

P. 60. *n.* 67. For an account of the services which Veitch was able to render Argyle in his journey to London, see *Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson,* 1825, pp. 126-44.

P. 61, *n.* 68. This minister's name was Thomas Archer (not Urquhart). He came over from Holland with Argyle in 1685. On the 24th of June the Privy Council offered 1000 merks to any one who would bring him in, dead or alive (Fountainhall's *Historical Notices,* ii. 650). Fountainhall says that he was hanged on the 14th of August (*Ibid.* ii. 659). Wodrow, who gives an account of him and prints his 'last words and testimony,' says he was sentenced to be hanged on the 14th, but his execution was delayed until the 21st (*History of the Sufferings,* iv. 317).

P. 61, *n.* 69. Patrick is not quite accurate in saying that Argyle was beheaded in July. The execution took place on the 30th of June 1685 (Fountainhall's *Historical Notices,* ii. 653; *Historical Observes,* p. 193; Wodrow's *History,* iv. 302.

P. 62, *n.* 70. Many covenanting papers and notes of sermons were circulated in manuscript, when it was difficult or wellnigh impossible to get them put in type. Robert Smith, a student of divinity, born about 1666, 'came to get some knowlege of the truth and persecuted cause and testimony, by seeing and borrowing' from an Argyleshire student, while at Glasgow University, 'some of Mr. Donald Cargill's sermons and martyrs' testimonies. The papers,' Smith says, 'were sweet to my rest [? taste]; the more I got of them the more was my love inflamed towards that cause for which they died, and to that God that strengthened them to suffer for him. But to be known to have any such papers being dangerous, therefore our congress betwixt him and me behoved to be the more clandestine or private. And to make them my own [I] transcribed them when my master sleeped' (Calderwood's *Dying Testimonies,* 1806, pp. 210, 211). This explains how copies of these papers came to be multiplied. All the admirers of the martyrs were not so scrupulous as Patrick. Not a few of their sermons have been printed from the notes of those who heard them; in some instances it is to be feared the sermons have suffered sadly. Patrick does not seem to have known that a sermon, to which he had previously referred, had been already printed (*supra,* ii. 208, *n.* 44). In 1744, Cargill's sermon on Luke xvii. 32 was

published at Glasgow by John Galloway, and to it was subjoined Cargill's letter to James Skene. Four of Cargill's lectures and seven of his sermons are included in Howie's *Collection of Lectures and Sermons*, Glasgow, 1779.

P. 62, *n.* 71. Several of Renwick's sermons were printed before Patrick wrote. One which extends to 55 quarto pages is entitled :—'The Church's Choice, or a Sermon on Canticles, ch. i. v. 7. By that faithful and zealous minister of the gospel and martyr for Jesus Christ Mr. James Renwick. Printed in the year 1705.' Another, on Psalm xlv. 10, which was issued without a title-page, bears the heading :—'January 24, 1688. Some Notes or Heads of a Sermon preached in Fyfe by that faithfull watchman and minister of the gospel Mr. James Renwick, who crowned his service to his Master by martyrdome.' Since Patrick wrote, several editions have been issued of 'A choice collection of very valuable Prefaces, Lectures, and Sermons, preached upon the mountains and muirs of Scotland in the hottest time of the late persecution by that faithful minister and martyr of Jesus Christ, the Reverend Mr. James Renwick.'

P. 64, *n.* 1. 'Mr. Walter Smith, son to Walter Smith in the parish of St. Ninians, was an eminent Christian, and good scholar ; he studied under the famous Leusden, who had a great value for him' (Wodrow's *History*, iii. 281).

P. 64, *n.* 2. 'We have to thank that low Thersites of the Cameronians, Patrick Walker the chapman, for an involuntary compliment to the character and habits of Claverhouse, shining in the midst of vile abuse, like a jewel in an Ethiop's ear :—" The hell wicked-witted, bloodthirsty Graham of Claverhouse hated to spend his time with wine and women, which made him more active in violent unheard of persecution, especially blood"' (Mark Napier's *Memorials of Claverhouse*, ii. 2). Napier again quotes the same passage, with the remark :—'The praiseworthy trait was surely very prominent to have been thus observed and turned against him from the stews and gutters of fanaticism' (*Ibid.* iii. 478).

P. 65, *n.* 3. *Supra*, i. 223, 224, 309, 310.

P. 65, *n.* 4. 'As to my judgment (insignificant as it is) I am necessitate to referr you to the draught of a paper, which I drew at the desire of some societies in Clydsdale, intituled, *Some Steps of Defection*, &c.' (*Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, p. 19).

P. 65, *n.* 5. 'At his last he [*i.e.* Walter Smith] spoke without that heat and these heights, which, in some cases, he had discovered in the former part of his life' (Wodrow's *History*, iii. 284).

P. 66, *n.* 6. According to Michael Sheilds, the uniting of the

societies in a General Correspondence sprang from the desire of 'some of the seriously and zealously godly in the west,' who thought it 'their indispensible duty to give some public testimony' against the 'blasphemous and self-contradictory test' enacted by that Parliament which met on the day after Cargill and Smith were hanged. 'Desiring that the same might [be] done by the advice, consent and concurrence of as many as could be obtained, they endeavoured to acquaint all in every place of the nation, whom they heard owned and adhered to the testimony against tyranny and defection, as left stated by the two ministers who had lately sealed the same with their blood, to the end that some from all these respective places might conveen at a time and place appointed, for mutual unanimous consultation, deliberation and help, in going about that affair; and for settling a correspondency thereafter amongst them. Thus was the rise, and this gave the occasion to the first general meeting, which from time to time hath since continued to be kept.' Of the managers of these meetings, Sheilds says, some 'had more zeal than knowledge, more honesty than policy, and more single-hearted simplicity than prudence' (*Faithful Contendings Displayed*, p. 6). The first of the General Meetings was held on the 15th of December 1681 at the Logan House in the parish of Lesmahagow (*Ibid.* p. 9; Wodrow's *History*, iii. 357).

P. 67, *n.* 7. *Supra*, i. 101-106.

P. 69, *n.* 8. *Supra*, i. 280.

P. 69, *n.* 9. *Supra*, ii. 149, *nn.* 3, 5; 152, *n.* 18. Those whom Patrick calls *Howdonites* were perhaps the followers of John Halden, who signed or initialed most of the extraordinary documents included in 'The Active Testimony of the True Presbyterians of Scotland, being a brief Abstract of Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, &c. As also a first and second Declaration of War against all the Enemies of Christ at Home and Abroad. And likewise a Postscript, containing a Declaration and Testimony against the late unjust Invasion of Scotland by Charles pretended Prince of Wales, and William pretended Duke of Cumberland and their Malignant Emissaries. . . . Printed in the year M.DCC.XLIX.' The *Adamites* were probably so named after 'that Mr. William Adams late minister' on whom it was attempted to father the *Manifesto* (*Confutation of a scandalous Pamphlet*, 1724, p. 14).

P. 69, *n.* 10. *Supra*, ii. 124, *n.* 25.

P. 70, *n.* 11. *Supra*, i. 281-84.

P. 70, *n.* 12. *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, p. 19.

P. 72, *n.* 13. The battle of Worcester was fought on the 3rd of September 1651.

P. 73, *n.* 14. The Marquis of Argyle suffered at Edinburgh on the

27th of May 1661; James Guthrie on the 1st of June 1661; and Wariston on the 22nd of July 1663.

P. 73, *n.* 15. 'By another wicked act of the Council at Glasgow above 300 ministers were put from their charges; and afterwards, for their non-conformity in not countenancing their diocesan meeting, and not keeping the anniversary day May 29, the rest were violently thrust from their labours in the Lord's vineyard, and banished from their parishes. . . . In this fatal convulsion of the Church, generally all were struck with blindness and baseness, that a paper-proclamation made them all run from their posts and obey the King's orders for their ejection' (*Hind let Loose*, 1687, p. 101).

P. 73, *n.* 16. The National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant were renewed at Lanark by those in arms on Monday the 26th of November 1666 (*Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson*, pp. 28, 404; Wodrow's *History*, ii. 25). The battle of Pentland Hills was fought on Wednesday the 28th.

P. 74, *n.* 17. Romans xvi. 17.

P. 75, *n.* 18. 'Because many have of late laboured to supplant the liberties of the Kirk, we shall maintain and defend the Kirk of Scotland, in all her liberties and priviledges, against all who shall oppose or undermine the same, or encroach thereupon under any pretext whatsomever' (*Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties*).

P. 75, *n.* 19. *Supra*, i. 208, 220.

P. 77, *n.* 20. Walter Smith, though here objecting to quarter having been given at Drumclog, does not take up the position of Sir Robert Hamilton, who wished to put those to death who had received quarter. The relevant passage in Hamilton's letter, as printed in the *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, p. 201, has been repeatedly cited. The copy there printed seems, however, to have been abridged. The following is from a fuller but uncompleted copy of the letter among the *Laing Manuscripts* (vol. 344, No. 206):—'As for their accusation they bring against me for killing of that poor man (as they call him) at Drumclog, I might easily guese my accusers could be no other than either some one of that party of the plotters, quho in their last march (contrare to their new Declaration and Covenant) shewed themselves so tenderhearted, as either they would or durst not kill any of that royall company, or some one of the house of Saul, Shimei, or some such other of that family, arrisen again to espouse that poor gentleman's quarrell against honest Samuell, for offering to kill that poor man Agag, after the King's giving of him quarters: but furder, I being called to command that day as head gave out the word that no quarters should be given, and returning from pursuing of Claverhouse, one or two of these fellows were standing in

the midst of some of our friends, and sundry was debating for quarters, others not, non could blame me to decide the controversie, and I blesse the Lord for it to this day. There was 5 more that without my knowledge gote quarters quho were brought up to me after we were a myle from the place as having gote quarters, quhom notwithstanding I desired might have been sent the same way that their nighbours were, and its not being doon I reckoned ever amongst our first stepping asyde.' It will be noticed that, although Hamilton was commander, his fellow-Covenanters would not permit him to put the five men to death who had received quarter. James Drummond thought he had discovered in 'the Bluidy Banner' a 'tangible fact' bearing on the practical principles of the Covenanters. The story of this banner, which he drew from its aged owners in 1859, connected it with Hall of Haugh-head; and it was used, he avers, both at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, iii. 253-58). To me it appears that this traditional evidence is utterly insufficient to connect the banner either with Hall or with Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge. There is much better evidence to connect it with Peter Grant (*supra*, ii. 167, *n.* 11), and to assign its origin to the early part of the eighteenth century. As Drummond has pointed out, and as may be seen from his very careful drawing, it has a triple inscription:—(1) In Hebrew characters, *Jehovah-Nissi*; (2) *For Christ and his Truths*; and (3) *No quarters for the Active Enimies of the Covenant.* Now, in a rare pamphlet issued by the United Societies in 1724, it is expressly stated that the insignificant party, which in 1723 sent forth *A Manifesto, or the Standard of the Church of Scotland* (*supra*, ii. 124, *n.* 26), had a 'banner or standard . . . seen by severals of us, with this inscription, *Jehovah-nissi*: and lower, *For Christ and the Covenants, No Quarters to Anticovenanters,* or such words. So they cannot get all denied that was boasted and reported' (*Confutation of a Scandalous Pamphlet*, 1724, p. 30). Though in this passage the inscription is professedly not quoted with precision, the correspondence is so close that there can be no reasonable doubt of the identity of this banner with Drummond's 'Bluidy Banner.' Even Drummond after drawing the banner and its inscription did not quote it quite correctly. It is certainly remarkable that while, on the one hand, the Cameronian writers of the *Confutation* should have regarded the banner as so extraordinary, there should, on the other hand, be no evidence beyond a nineteenth century tradition to connect it with the pre-Revolution struggle. Mark Napier, though exceedingly critical and sceptical regarding all evidence against the Royalists, at once accepted the story that the Bluidy Banner was carried at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, and reproduced the coloured drawing in his *Memorials of Claverhouse.* There has been discussion over

the alleged erection of a gallows by the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge (Kirkton's *History*, pp. 469-71; M'Crie's *Veitch and Brysson*, pp. 459, 460). A contemporary, who mentions several other wild rumours, says:—'They wer so confident to gaine the victorie that they caused put upe ane extraordinar great gallowes that wold hang 30 or 36 persones, upon the which to hang all their oposits that they sould apprehend' (*MS. Diary* belonging to Mr. John Cochrane).

P. 77, *n.* 21. 1 Kings xx. 42.

P. 78, *n.* 22. *Supra*, i. 255; ii. 172, *n.* 36.

P. 80, *n.* 23. This is the Declaration published at Sanquhar on the 22nd of June 1680. It is printed in Wodrow's *History*, iii. 212, 213; and in *An Informatory Vindication*, 1707, pp. 173-76.

P. 83, *n.* 24. There were praying societies in Scotland quite distinct from the United Societies. For an account of the Praying Society of St. Andrews, see *Original Secession Magazine* for January 1879; and for the Praying Society of Cameron, see *Ibid.* for November 1892, and January and May 1893.

P. 85, *n.* 25. So far as John Howie knew, 'they never, except one, suffered the least injury in coming to and going from these meetings, tho' several of them were taken and killed otherways' (*Faithful Contendings Displayed*, p. v).

P. 94, *n.* 26. This shows that, even while they were being hunted as partridges on the mountains, the Covenanters were anxious for the evangelisation of the perishing heathen. Forty years before, Alexander Henderson and other leaders of the Scottish Church had expressed their cordial approval of William Castell's scheme for sending the gospel abroad.

P. 96, *n.* 27. *Castles* must be an error for *castle*, as Patrick was not imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle. No doubt he meant that Janet Fimerton had been his fellow-prisoner in Edinburgh Tolbooth and also in Dunnottar Castle.

P. 96, *n.* 28. The parish of Stonehouse, in the middle ward of Lanarkshire.

P. 97, *n.* 29. Patrick here dates the beginning of Killing Time somewhat earlier than Sheilds does (*supra*, ii. 133, *n.* 27). His reason for fixing on the 15th of August 1684 is tangible enough. Under that date Fountainhall says:—'Three of thesse who ware at the exploit of Entirken-hill . . . are sentenced to be hanged that same afternoon; for the Privy Counsell resolved that any who are condemned for Bothuell-Bridge rebellion, or disouning the King's authority, or any other treason, shall be allowed but 3 howers, and shall be execute that same day the sentence is pronunced. The French hes some such custome' (*Historical Notices*, ii. 551, 552). Wodrow says that these three men—

Thomas Harkness in Lockerbane, Andrew Clerk in Leadhills, and Samuel M'Ewen in Glencairn—were captured by Claverhouse, and 'constantly asserted that they were not at Enterkin.' Patrick is in error in saying that they got no indictment. They were found guilty 'of being in arms, and that one of them presented a gun to the King's forces, that they had ball upon them, that they had conversed with rebels, denied authority, and fled from his Majesty's forces.' Wodrow has printed a touching letter written by M'Ewen after he was sentenced, and also a joint-testimony signed by all the three (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 67-69). When he says that this testimony was omitted from the *Cloud of Witnesses* because 'it runs not in the strain of those' that were admitted, he does the compilers a serious injustice, as they expressly state (1714 ed., p. 235) that these martyrs 'either got not leave to write any testimony for the persecuters' cruelty, or at least they are not come to the hands of the publishers of this collection.' The testimony duly appeared in the fourth (1741) and subsequent editions.

P. 97, *n.* 30. 1 Kings xviii. 18.

P. 97, *n.* 31. William, eldest son of the first Marquis of Douglas by his second wife, was born in 1634, and 'married Ann, Dutchess of Hamilton, eldest surviving daughter of James, first Duke of Hamilton; and was, in consequence of a petition from the Dutchess, created Duke of Hamilton for life, 12th October 1660' (Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice*, 1832, p. 427).

P. 97, *n.* 32. There is only too much reason to believe that Thomas Hamilton, minister of Hamilton and Dean of Glasgow, was indeed a 'baptized brute.' It was alleged that he was guilty of sodomy, bestiality, and other gross immoralities (*Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, 1693, pp. 64, 73). One who tried to defend him affirmed that he 'was indeed accused of the crime of sodomy, and upon that account was cited first before the Privy Council, and afterwards before the Justice Court at Edinburgh; and all witnesses that could be had were examined against him, but they not proving anything of the crime upon him he was fully absolved from it by both those honourable courts.' This defender apparently had his own misgivings, for he added:—'Whether he was really guilty or not of such a villany, God and his own conscience can best tell' (*Some Remarks upon a late pamphlet, entituled, An Answer to the Scots Presbyterian Eloquence*, 1694, pp. 62, 63). Fountainhall explains that 'the Justice-General, Justice-Clerk, and King's Advocat, at the intercession of the 2 archbischops, resolving to bring of the minister,' discouraged the witnesses, and refused to interrogate them on certain points. In Fountainhall's opinion it was the duty of the Church 'to purge such a profane man from them; and it gave the Papists more

advantage of us that we defended such a man than if we exposed him to punishment' (*Historical Notices*, ii. 667, 668).

P. 99, *n.* 33. Fountainhall only gives the surnames of two of these martyrs, Wat and Semple (*Historical Notices*, ii. 570). These two are described in the *Cloud of Witnesses* (1714 ed., p. 240) as 'John Wat in the parish of Kilbride and *John* Semple in the parish of Glassart.' Wodrow also gives John (not Robert) as Semple's Christian name, and says he was 'of Craigthorn in the parish of Glasford.' He speaks of his torture in the thumb-screw (*History*, iv. 150), and subsequently in the boots (*Ibid.* iv. 152). He gives Gabriel Thomson as the name of the third sufferer, and relates that their libel was thus restricted:—'the pannels own or refuse to disown the traitorous proclamation [*i.e.* the Apologetical Declaration] mentioned in their indictment.' He also tells that the people who were at the execution 'were surrounded by the soldiers, and had interrogatories and queries put to them, which when they refused to answer upon oath, ten or twelve were made prisoners and carried from the scaffold to the tolbooth' (*Ibid.*). Some of Patrick's details are confirmed by Fountainhall, who says that, on the 13th of November 1684, the 'three fellows,' as he calls them, 'did obstinatly byde the torture of the thummikins without shrinking till they ware taken out of them, and then they fell doune' (*Historical Notices*, ii. 570). He also states that, on the 24th of November, 'they ware sentenced and condemned about 3 a'cloak, and ware immediatly carried doune to the Gallow-lee betuen Leith and Edinburgh, and hanged ther before 5 at night, which is a very short advertishment and preparation for death. It is strange to find this obstinacy have countenancers; for good black coffins followed them doune Leith Wynd, and weemen, privily in the night, stolle ther bodies from under the gibbet, and carried them to the gate of the Grayfrier Church-yeard, with a designe to have buried them their; but the Privy Counsell ordained ther corps to be drawen back again to the Gallow-lee, and the wright who made ther coffins to be inquired after and apprehended, that he might discover who had imployed him' (*Ibid.* ii. 573, 574). In the *Register of the Privy Council, Acta*, there is this entry under date 24th November 1684:—'The Lords of his Majesties Privie Councill, being informed that ther wer three coffines this day caryed doune the street, for these persones who wer this day ordered to be execute for treasonable crymes and ouneing the late treasonable declaratione, in order to ther being interred therein, and which was painted and cyphered with black, doe hereby recommend to Sir William Patersone, clerk of Councill, to take all necessar enquiry anent the wright who made the saids coffines and painter of the same and who employed them and report.'

P. 99, *n.* 34. The entry in the *Register of the Privy Council*, of 18th August 1685, of which an abstract is already given (*supra* ii. 195, *n.* 7), contains the following:—'In regaird Janet Fumertoun flately and boldly, in face of Councill, denyed the King to be laufull soveraigne and his authoritie, the saids Lords ordaines her to be processed befor the justices for her life.' If the rulers of those days were imbued with a chivalrous respect for the weaker sex, they were wonderfully successful in hiding their feelings. In the *Register of the Privy Council, Acta*, there is this entry under date 23rd October 1684:—'Three women taken on Sunday last as haveing been suspect to have been goeing to a conventicle neer Gortoune, taken by Robert Preston, being examined and haveing given no satisfactory answear wer remanded to prisone.' Again, in the same *Register*, under date 14th July 1685, there is this other entry:—'Anent a petition presented by the Provest and baillies of Glasgow, shewing that where there are severall old women and other silly women in their tolbooth, which take up and pester the same, and are a great charge to the toun, and therfor humbly supplicating the Councill would be pleased to give ordor to the petitioners to dismiss them upon whipping them for their bygain faults, or inflicting such other punishment as the Councill thought fitt, since if they ly any longer in prison they will dy or sterve in the petitioners' hands; the Lords of his Majesties Privy Councill, haveing heard and considered the forsaid petition, doe hereby give ordor to the petitioners to cause whipp and burn on the cheek severly such of the saids women as are guilty of harbour and resett of rebells, and such as are only guilty of ill principles to whipp them, and thereafter to dismiss them all.'

P. 100, *n.* 35. *Supra*, ii. 208, *n.* 46. Pitlochie had been fined for attending conventicles (Wodrow's *History*, ii. 238, 244; iii. 10).

P. 107, *n.* 36. *Supra*, i. 67-71.

P. 108, *n.* 37. *Supra*, i. 47, 48.

P. 109, *n.* 38. In 1669 it was enacted that, in certain shires, the heritors, in whose bounds or lands a conventicle should be kept, should be fined £50 sterling (Wodrow's *History*, ii. 126). For other penalties exacted from those on whose lands conventicles were kept, see *Ibid.* ii. 213; iii. 245.

P. 110, *n.* 39. *Supra*, i. 223-25.

P. 110, *n.* 40. Patrick here corrects an error into which he previously fell, as to the date of Cameron's return to Scotland (*supra*, ii. 163, *n.* 18).

P. 112, *n.* 41. John xxi. 6.

P. 113, *n.* 42. Two sermons by Cameron on this text are in Howie's *Collection of Lectures and Sermons*, 1779, pp. 380-97. According to two MS. copies, Howie says they were preached on the 30th of May 1680, at

or near Shaw-head; but Cameron may have preached the same sermon in two places.

P. 114, *n.* 43. The following somewhat similar ghastly story is told by Alexander Sheilds:—'The said Peter or Patrick Inglis killed one James White, struck off his head with an ax, brought it to Newmills, and plaid at the foot-ball with it, he killed him at Little Blackwood, the foresaid year 1685' (*Short Memorial of the Sufferings*, 1690, p. 37). This story was reproduced *verbatim* in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, p. 279; and is thus vouched for on White's tombstone in Fenwick churchyard:—

> 'This martyr was by Peter Ingles shot,
> By birth a tyger rather than a Scot,
> Who, that his monstrous extract might be seen,
> Cut off his head and kick't it o'er the green.
> Thus was that head, which was to wear a crown,
> A foot ball made by a profane dragoun.'
>
> (Thomson's *Martyr Graves*, i. 197.)

Sir Walter Scott was so impressed with the circumstances of this crime when a child, that he was able forty years afterwards to repeat the epitaph with wonderful precision.

P. 115, *n.* 44. Wodrow has quoted the Privy Council's instructions concerning the reception of Rathillet, and of Cameron's head (*History of the Sufferings*, iii. 221, 222). The way in which these instructions were carried out is thus described by a contemporary, who had no sympathy whatever with the Covenanters:—'Upon Saturday the 24 of Jully, Haxtoune of Rathillet, who wes on of the murtherers of the Bishope of St. Andrewes, wes broght in to Edinburgh prissoner, and wes broght up the way from the Wateryeat, ryding bakward upon a whyt horse; and the hangman leading the horse; ane carieing the head of Mr. Archbald (*sic*) Camrone upone a spear, and thrie uther fellowes following them bound with gads of irne, and the midmast carieing *one John Fouller's* head about his neke in a poke' (*MS. Diary*, belonging to Mr. John Cochrane). The words *one John Fouller's* are interlined over the words *Camrone's brother's* deleted. This alteration confirms Patricks statement (*supra*, i. 233) that Fowler's head was cut off by mistake for Michael Cameron's. In Rathillet's own account, he says that he was set on a horse with his face backward, 'and the other three bound on a goad of iron, and Mr. Cameron's head carried on a halbert before me, and another head in a sack, which I knew not, on a lad's back; and so we were carryed up the street to the Parliament Closs, where I was taken down and the rest loosed. All was done by the hangman' (*Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714, pp. 29, 30).

P. 115, *n.* 45. *Supra*, i. 233.

P. 115, *n.* 46. *Supra*, i. 232.

P. 116, *n.* 47. *Supra*, i. 254-60.

P. 117, *n.* 48. The Act of Parliament, of 7th June 1690, ratifying the Confession of Faith and settling Presbyterian Church Government, expressly allows the church 'to try and purge out all insufficient, negligent, scandalous, and erroneous ministers by due course of ecclesiasticall processes and censures' (*Acts of Parliament*, ix. 134). In the letter sent by the General Assembly to the king, on the 13th of November 1690, it is said:—'We have given instructions about the late conformists, that none of them shall be removed from their places but such as are either insufficient, or scandalous, or erroneous, or supinely negligent; and that these of them be admitted to ministerial communion with us, who, upon due trial, and in a competent time for that trial, shall be found to be orthodox in doctrine, of competent abilities, of a godly, peaceable, and loyal conversation, and who shall be judged faithfull to God and to the government, and who shall likewayes promise to own, submit unto, and concurre with it' (*Acts of Assembly*). In his letter, written from the Hague on the 13th of the following February to the Commission of Assembly, William thus intimates his pleasure:—'That yow make no distinction of men otherwayes well qualified for the ministry who are willing to join with yow in the aknowledgement of, and submission to the goverment both in Church and State, as it is now by law established, though they have formerly conformed to the law introducing Episcopacy, and that yow give them no vexation or disturbance for that cause or upon that head' (Fraser's *Melvilles and Leslies*, ii. 51).

ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

[A JOINT-TESTIMONY—1684][1]

We, undersubscribers, being, upon the 17 day of June 1684, brought before the said Justiciarie, and called to ansuer to a libell delivered to us upon the 16 day, and we being charged to ansuer to the same, thought in prison (I say) we being brought befor them and the libell being read, wich was more like unto ther oun practise then ours, especially in that word wherin they said we had cast of all fear of God, to wich we take the world to witnes that they themselves are the men, and that by the sentence given to us upon our interrogations and answers wich are generally thees. First, in refusing to oun the authorite that was contrair to the Word of God; and 2ly, our denying to call the lifting of arms (for the defence of the Gospell and our oun lives and the lives of our brethren) rebellion; 3ly, our ouning our suorn to covenants and ingagments, to the wich they themselves, wit ther king princes and whole bodie of the land, were solemly ingaged with ther hands lifted up to the most high God.

Now, we say, thees being the main heads wherupon we were sentenced to be banished to the plantations of America, and threatned with death in case of our return, therfor we desire to leave thees feu lines in record, that it may be seen to our poor suffering brethren and succeding generation the crueltie of thees our present pretended rulers, magistrats, or rather (we may say) tyrants. And nou for this end we desire to testifie to the world

[1] From the Laing MSS. in the University Library, Edinburgh, vol. 344, No. 110. Wodrow has given a short account of the sufferers by whom this testimony was emitted, and of the hardships they endured on the voyage to Carolina. 'John Alexander died of thirst, as was thought' (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 9, 10). Cargill foretold the fate of two of them, who were 'very young lads,' and of whom Patrick speaks as 'my very dear billies' (*supra*, ii. 44).

what we are, and that we are Presbiterians in our judgements, and does adhere first to the covenant of fre grace made up betuen the Father and the Son from all eternitie, and do suetly acquies therunto as the only way for the redemption of the whole elect; and does oun and adhere to our blessed Lord Jesus Christ as being sole head of his oun church, and to his apostells, and faithfull truly called and sent ministers of the same gospell, as egeall members of the same mysticall bodie, for breaking up and opening up of the Word of God to his people, as teeth of sheep that are even shorn, Song [of Solomon] 4, v. 2; and not like thees that are nou set in the church as tuschs on above another, wich are not to be found in any creature bot vile tigrous beasts, such as lions, boars, wolves, and other destroying creatures, such as they are who hath taken the house of God in possession, wich we nor no Christian can oun as pastors or teachers.

2ly. We adhere and gives our testimony to the work of reformation from under that yoke and Ægyptian darknes of Poperie and Prelacie and Erastianism, wich yoke nether we [nor] our fathers were able to bear.

3ly. We adhere and leaves our testimony to the Nationall Covenant, Solemne League and Covenant, Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, ane Solemne Acknouledgment of Sins and Ingadgments to Deutys, Causes of Gods wrath: all wich are derived from and ample aproven by the Word of God, continued (*sic*) in the Scriptures of the Old and Neu Testaments, wich we chiefly acknouledge and take for the only infallible rule of life and maners.

4ly. We adhere and leaves our testimony to all the faithfull testimonies given by our worthyes, by ther apearing in arms for the defence of the gospell at Pentland, Drumclogge, Glasgou, Boduell, Airsmosse, and all tymes else, whither by feu or many, in the defence of the same gospell.

5ly. We leave our testimony, and adheres to all the faithfull testimonies given by our martyrs—in fields, on scafolds, drunings in the sea, or banishment to forrain lands.

6ly. We adhere and leaves our testimonie to all the faithfull testimonies or declarations given by the people of God in hostile maner, such as Rutherglen, Sanchir, Lanerick.

7ly. We adhere to the 8 articles of the Neu Covenant draun by Mr. Donald Gargill, and taken of worthy Hendry Hall at the Kueens-ferrie, and does oun the samin in all things as is agreable to the Word of God.

8ly. We adhere and leaves our testimonie to the excommunication at the Torewood, and to all the faithfull preachings whither in fields or houses by thees faithfull and sent ministers of Christ Jesus, Mr. Donald Gargill and Mr. Richard Cameroun, in ther holding up of Christs fallen banner efter Bodwell, when ther brethring had deserted them; and lykewise to all who are or his been followuing ther deuty in the holding up of the samin.

And nou, as we have left our testimony in pairt and adherence to the true and unlimited Presbyteriane principls of the Church of Scotland, so we intend as God shall permit to leave our testimonies against the treacherie, errours, crueltie, murther, and bloodshed, by the open enimies, backbiding of pretended frinds, and errours of such as have turned aside, and,

First, we leave our testimonie against that tyrant Charles Steuart, for his treacherous abjuring of the covenants, denying his coronation oath, overturninge of the whole work of reformation, in taken unto himsel be sole pouer, and maken himsefe absolute and sole head in ecclesticall and civill maters, wich is all that the Roman antichrist his sought for, and therfor hath assigned to himsefe to be pope at London as weel as the other at Rome.

2ly. We leave our testimonie against Poperie, Prelacy, Erastianism, Quakerism, and all the rest of thees erronious sectaries, derived from that rook of Poprie, all wich are contrair to the Word of God and the practise of the aposles and primitive Christian churches. And nou as we have left our testimonies against those as the principle heads, so we leave our testimonies against thees who are ruling for or under the saming, both as to the civill and ecclesiasticall under officeres, such as are members of Parliaments, lords of councells, sheriffs of shires, commissars of commissarites (*sic*), bellieffs of regalites, provosts and belieffs of broughts, and all such underlings, who are putting in exsecution the cruell laues of that bloodie tyrant. [I s—*deleted*] We say, we leave our testimonie against them, and ther iniquious laus, in passing

sentences against the poor people of God, for ther followuing ther deuty adhering to ther ingadgements, and that both of death and banishments, torturings, finings, and confinings, pealings and plunderings of the people of God in everie corner of the land. Lykewise we leave our testimony against all the compeiring to ther courts, except by force and violence as we ourselves were taken.

3dly. We leave our testimonie against all complyars, ether by suplicating them, being incastred, and sitting doun upon ther knees and praying superstitiously, for the satisfaction of the base lusts and humers of thees cruell wretches, as thre [1] of our number did when we were befor them. Houever they may excuse themselves, ther suplication was abominable and ridiculous; and lykewise ther superstitious bouing and praying was horrid idolatirie, to wich our eyes were wittnes; and therfor we leave our testimonie against them, and all that efter them shall come out in that kind. For whatsomever men may pretend, for excusing themselves in ther faintings and faillings, ther is no ofcoming bot by denying the truth, yea more, even condeming of the same; for, ye may beleve us, ther way taken by them for ther delivery was no better then supose they had taken that horid thing called the test.

4ly. We leave our testimony against the silent ministers or rather worse, for they are imploying both ther wit and pen for the breaking doun of that wich they seemed to build, in ther both councelling and writing (as we have hard to our grieffe) for the defence of joyning with and hearing thees tested curats, whom some tymes, in some of our hearings, they have pronunced curses and judgements against all such as would turn back, and compared them to the doge to the vomit and the soue to the puddle; bot alace, what light may this be that they have nou fund, for justifieng that wich they once condemned, yea, we may say, that word wich some of them wrote (in a malicious reprochfull and disdaindfull letter) to the prisoners hear, that it is earthly,

[1] Of the three who so far complied, John Buchanan and Arthur Cunningham sign this testimony with special acknowledgment of their weakness. Their compliance only amounted to this that, on the advice of Walter Gibson and his brother, they, in the hope of saving their lives, expressed a willingness to go to Carolina. The third, John Dick, instead of acknowledging that he had fainted, justified the step (Wodrow's *History*, iv. 10).

sensuall, and divlish; for it is for the pleasing of the humers of worldings, who can venture nothing for Christ and his cause; wich sheues them not to be the ministers of Christ, bot of men, such as thees whom they are counselling the people to goe hear. Lykewise we adhear to all the testimonies given against that errastian pairty called indullgences.

And nou, dear frinds, as we have left our testimonies to the truth and true principles of the Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, and also against the treachcrie, crueltie, backslyding and errours of the flocks of ther companions, so we desire to leave this as our last advise at this present to you, who are the poor suffering remnant, who are hounted and harled to prisons for ouning the truth, in the midst of this adultrous generation. To you (we say) hold on; and faint not in following your deuty, for we dar say, and set to our seall, that it hath been allmost the greatest pairt of our grieffe and trouble that we have not been more faithfull, fre and forward, in the performance of our deutys and persheuing the ends of the covenants and work of reformation, to wich we were ingadged. Yea, and on the other hand, we dare say the thoughts of the poor weak aseayes made by us for the same ends hath been our comforts, not that it was any thing in us, bot that the Lord had honoured us to give the least of testimonies for him and his wronged interests; and therfor we desire the more earnestly to encourage you in followiug of your deuty, when in ventring for Christ and his cause so it it (*sic*) is weel with the ouning. And we adhear and aproves of your holding up of his falln doun standart, for he that will come shall come and will not tariey; for we desire to belive that he is one his wing in comming to deliver his poor opprest bride in Scotland, and will ere long avenge himselfe of his adversaries, for he will not suffer the rod of the wicked to ly alwaies upon the lot of his people, lest they should putt forth ther hands to do iniquity. And we desire to beleve that the Lord will perform his promises touards the poor remnant in Scotland, that is contined in the 57 of Iay: [*i.e.* Isaiah] from the 15 verse to the 20. For this saith the high and loftie One that inhabiteh eternite, whose name is Holy; I duell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to reviev the sprit of the humble and

to revive the heart of the contrite ones. v. 16, For I will not contend for ever, nether will I be alwayes wroth: for the sprit should fail before me, and the soull wich I have made. v. 17, For the iniquity of his covetousnes was I wroth and smote him: I hidde me and was wroth, and he went on forwardly in the way of his oun heart. v. 18, I have seen his wayes and will heall him; and I will lead him also and restore comforters unto him and to his mourners. v. 19, I creat the fruit of the lips; peace, peace to him that is afar of, and to him that is near (saith the Lord); and I will heall him. And to the close of the chapter, ther is a dscription of the wiked and a signification of ther end. v. 21, For ther is no peace saith my God to the wicked. Nou, dear frinds, we shall shut up thees feu preceeding lynes, confussed as they are (for we may say we are confused) by reason of souldiers who are continually with us [and malicious jaylours—*deleted*] within the prison; and nou, we desire to be minded of you, who intends throu the strenth of him who only can inable us to be mindfull of you; yea we shall say, if we forgett the, O poor Zion, poor opprest remnant of the Church of Scotland, then let our right hands forget ther cuning, and the tongues cleaves to the roof of our mouthes. I say, if we forget you, O ye the poor persecuted remnant whom we are living [*i.e.* leaving] behind, who is as in the clifts of the rocks and secret places of the staires. O remember, remember him who is calling to you, that ye may let him hear your voices and sie your countenances; for he seems to be calling to you to come with him from Lebanon, and to look from the top of Ammana, and from the top of Shenar and Hermon, from the lyons' dens, and from the mountains of the leopards, Song [of Solomon] 4 *v.* 8. And nou, we shall say no more bot fareweell fareweel poor Scotland, and especially the poor persecuted remnant therof, whom we desire to beleve God will prepare ane outgate to, in his oun holy way; and will ere long come against his enimies in battell aray, and will go throu the bread and lenth of Scotland; for he will not suffer this perfidious generatioun to passe unpunished. Therfore dear frinds make sure work. Enter into your chambers, wich he his prepared for you, and shut the door behind you by faith, lest the indignation be on you before ye be aware. Thus we leave you dear frinds, wives, children,

and families, on the hand of him who is a husband to the widou, a stay to the orphant, and a hiding place to his people, and the shadou of a great rock in a wearie land; to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

Sic subscribitur.[1]

James M'clintok

I, John Buchanan, acknouledge my fainting in given my consent to the seekin of banishment, and gives my consent and adherence to this testimonie, as witnes my hand

John Buchanan

Wiliam Ingles
Gauen Black
Adam Allan
John Gallt
Thom. Mershall
William Smith
Rob: Urie
Thomas Bryce
John Sime
Hugh Simm
William Sime
John Alxander

John Marshell
Math. Machan
John Paton
John Gibson
John Yong

I, Arthour Cunghame, aedhars to the resentment of my given consent to banishment beforhand, as witnes my hand

Arthor Cunghame

John Edwart George Smith

[EARLSTON'S RELEASE][2]

Sir, Although upon the account both of your profession and service yow might have expected little favour at my hand, yet that yow may see I am not unsensible of the kindness and civility yow have used the honourable Laird of Earlestoun with, who hath of such a long time most unjustly and cruelly [been] detained prisoner with yow, I have taken ane other course with yow then either hath been taken with others, or might have been taken with yourselfe. I only at this time then shall desire that that worthy gentleman, and any other prisoner with yow upon the account of religion, may be set at liberty, lest some way be taken

[1] Notwithstanding the *sic subscribitur* this document is not a copy. The signatures are autograph. Wodrow has misread the name John *Edwart* as John *Dowart*. There are a few minute alterations in the text in a contemporary hand.

[2] From the Laing MSS., vol. 344, No. 244. For the Laird of Earlston, see *supra*, ii. 146, *n.* 78. For Donald Ker of Kersland, see *supra*, i. 320; ii. 183.

less pleasing to yow, wherby we may as well accomplish our designe. Take this, sir, as from one who wisheth yow

Peebles alwayes prosperity
January 12, 1689. in a good cause
D. KERSLAND.

This was to be sent to the Governor of Blackness.

[RANSOM OF SLAVES, 1688-89][1]

Barbados.

Whereas, by an act of real charity and natural affection of our friends, relations, and countrymen of our native kingdom of Scotland, a collection of the sum of 240 lib. sterling money hath been made for the ransoms and freedoms of us, and every [one] of us whose names are here underwritten; and quheras an order from our said friends and relations hath been directed to Mr Wm Stonhewer of the city of London, merchant, for the disposing of the said sume of 240 lib.; and also, quheras by the order of the aforsaid Wm Stonhewer directed to John Fleming in the said island, merchant (quher we, whose names are underwritten, were bond slaves and servants as by an act of the said island is provided) for the use, effect, and purposes intended.

These are therfore to shew and certify all and every one quhom these presents may concern that the abovementioned John Fleming, of the said island, merchant, hath fully, justly, and clearly disbursed, paid and laid out the sume of 240 lib. sterling, in ransoming, releasing and freeing us and all of us, whose names are underwritten; and in paying, furnishing and providing for us, and all of us underwritten, all such necesaries fit and convenient either for us here after our freedom, or for our voyage abord the ship; and that to the best of our knowledge he, the said John Fleming, hath not detained of that said sume one shilling sterling for his oun proper use and behoofe; and, for yor further assurance and certification hereof, we and every [one] of us have particularly

[1] From the Laing MSS., vol. 350, No. 254. Of the fourteen subscribers to this document, ten occur in a list of Covenanters banished in April 1687 (Wodrow's *History*, iv. 412). The ransom money was raised by the United Societies (*Faithful Contendings Displayed*, pp. 336, 344, 345; Wodrow's *History*, iv. 462, 463). As the names appended to this document are not autograph signatures, it can only be a copy.

hereunto put to our hands and seals to this, and two more of the same tenor, of the date one thousand sex hundred eighty and eight, Febry. 16, $168\frac{8}{9}$.

Sealed and delivered
[in] the presence of
Wm Portious
John Boill
Mr John Menzies

Gilbert McCully
George Paton
George Whyte
John Whyt
John Whght
The mark of
Thomas. T B *Broun*
Agnes Keir

Ja. Richart
James Baxter
John Buchanan
James Douglas
Robert Mitchel
Alexander Baillie
George White

[A WIDOW'S PETITION][1]

To the Honourable Meeting of the Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland,

The Humble Petition of Jennet Howie, relict of umquhill John Urie, slain at Polmodie, near Glasgow,

Sheweth,—

That, whereas Lievtenant Coll. Balfour, of whose cruel and insolent oppressions and persecutions, as a very active tool and instrument of the tyrannie of these bygone years, many poor widowes and orphans have had long just reason to complain, is now, upon suspicion of his evil designs against the government, committed to prison; whence by imposing upon your honours clemency, if his crimes be not known or considered, he may seek to be released upon baile: your poor petitioner finds her self constrained in conscience, in all humility, to represent to your Honours that about four years ago, in or about [May—*interlined*] in the year one thousand, sex hundred and eighty five, the said Lievenant Coll. Balfour came with his souldiers under his command to Polmodie, and took your petitioner's husband, John Urie, from his work, with other two honest and innocent men, Thomas Cook and Robert Tam, against whom nothing could be charged deserving either death or bonds, and most unjustly and inhumanely without any trial, conviction, or colour of law, caused them all three be shot dead in the field, not permitting them to end

[1] From the Laing MSS., vol. 350, No. 249. Indorsed:—'1689.'

their prayers to God, which they desired to put up before death, nor regarding their oun intreaties, nor the intercession of Captain Maitland then present on their behalf, requesting for God's sake to spare them a litle, to which the said Lievtenant Coll. Balfour ansured, For God's sake they shall die, and not be spared.[1] And, after this horrid action was done, [he] would not suffer your poor petitioner, nor any of their friends, to come near their corpse, nor either sheet or coffin to be given to any of them, but caused break their coffins coming from Glasgow.

May it therefore please your Honours to consider the premisses, and commisserate the cries of a poor widow, and her fatherless child, begging for God's sake that this bloody man may not be suffered to escape justice, but be kept in custody until your Honours shall find conveniency to take cognizance of the like grievances. And your petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

[PETITION OF ALEXANDER SHEILDS AND OTHERS][2]

To the Right Honourabell the Lords of his Majesties Privie Councell,

The Petition of Mr. Alexander Scheills, preacher of the Gospell, Samuell Hall, sone to the deceast Henry Hall of Haughhead, and John Luckup, merchant in Edinburgh,

Humbly sheweth :—

That, in February 1688, John Justice, merchant, accompanied with severall of his associats, came to the house of the said John Luckup petitioner, and (pretending he had a warrand to search for prohibit goods) he most unwarrantably and contrar to all law, at his own hand, entered the house of the said John Luckup, in the Castlehill, and after the breaking up of some doores, chists,

[1] Wodrow has given an attested account of the arrest and execution of these three martyrs. When asked if they would pray for King James the Seventh, they answered they would pray 'for all within the election of grace.' Balfour said, 'Do you question the King's election?' They replied that they sometimes questioned their own. 'All the three were murdered within an hour after they were apprehended' (*History of the Sufferings*, iv. 250, 251). Their tombstone is in Cathcart churchyard (Thomson's *Martyr Graves of Scotland*, i. 122-24).

[2] From the Laing MSS., vol. 350, No. 250. Indorsed :—'Petition for Mr. Alex[r] Scheill and others, 1689.'

and presses, in a most rude and ryotous maner, he carried away not only the wholl goods and household plenishing of the said John Luckupe, to the value of 300 merks or therby, but also the books and papers of the said Mr. Alexander Scheill, lyeing in a great chist and coffer, of a considerable value, as lykewayes the goods and cloaths of the said Samuell Hall, lyeing in the said house, to the value of ten lib. sterling or therby; and sieing this was ane act of very great rudenes and cruelty, and to the reproach of every weill governed nation,

May it please your Lordships to consider the petitioners case, and to ordaine restitution to be made to them of their goods and books, &c., or value therof; and your Lordships ansuer.

[THE PRISONERS' PROTEST][1]

Wee, John Clark, Herbert Wells, John Bell, Thomas M^c^Millan, being unjustlie apprehended and for a long tyme detained by the present pretended powers, whom, upon the account of their unlawfull constitution, and unlawfull acts flowing therefrom, endeavouring the buriall of our broken down covenanted work of reformation, and their asociation and confederacie with the enemies of Christ, his covenanted interests and people, &c., we could neither own nor supplicat as our lawfull rullers.

And now hearing of our designed liberation, fearing there may be a snare in it, as procured by some petitioning in our names to the prejudice of the testimonie we own; we declare our ignorance off or accession to anie such petitions, or anie accession directlie or indirectlie to anie owning of the forsaid powers, and desires that this may both be presented to the pretended counsell and registrat amongst their acts; as alsoe registrat in the (soe called) clarks books of the Tollbooth of Cannongate: as wittnes our hands, March 25, 1693, Cannongate Tollbooth,

Jo: Bell	Jo: Clark
Tho M^c^Millan	Ha: Wells

This is a just dowble of the paper which we delivered to goodman of the Tollboth of Cannongate, and one of the bayllifes there, with our hand at our outcoming.

[1] From the Laing MSS., vol. 344, No. 300. The signatures at this protest are autograph. See *supra*, i. pp. xl, xli.

[LETTER OF ALEXANDER SHEILDS TO HIS MOTHER][1]

From on board the *Rising Sun*, in Caledonia Bay,
Febr. 2, 1700.

Loving and dear Mother,—Throng of letters and litle time constrain me to be short with yow. But I must take this occasion to signify that I am in very good health through mercy, and so is my brother. We are in a remote but very pleasant land, and one of the most fruitful spots of the earth, where God reigns and is to be found of them that seek him, as well as in Scotland. It is still doubtful whether this colony shall settle here. However, if the Lord preserve me, I intend to be returning homeward on December next, and it may be sooner. I know your infirmities of anxiety, jealousy, and distrust, which will grow upon yow in your decrepit age, and I greatly fear may shorten your dayes. But I request yow seek of God the healing of these infirmities, and the strengthening of your faith. Cast all your burdens upon him, and he will sustain them. I have been a great deal further removed from yow then this, and in far greater difficulties and dangers, and yet have returned safe. I trust in God, who hath delivered me, and doth deliver, and I hope he will deliver me. Committ us both unto the Lord: and this yow cannot do heartily and in a way pleasing to God, except yow first committ yourself unto him, and submitt to all his yokes, and resign your will, and all your cares, fears, and desires, and your all to him, in the terms of the new and everlasting covenant, taking him for your all. Make sure an interest in Christ, the one thing needful: and do not deceive your self with false notions of worldly honesty, a blameless life, some sufferings for righteousness, some formes of duty, some convictions of sin, some desires after Christ, and such like, for satisfying evidences of an interest in him. We find in this countrey many glistering things that are not gold. Nothing can make an interest in Christ clear and sure but deep humiliation, in the sense of misery, driving to him; love, taken off all things else, drawing to him; and faith fleeing to him, and receiving him

[1] From the Laing mss., vol. 344, No. 318. This is the original letter. Part of the seal in red wax still remains. The writer never reached home.

upon his oun terms. What I write to yow I design also for my brother John. I desire and warn him to flee from the wrath to come. I exhort yow both to seek God apart and together, and be not anxious for us. I pray for much of his grace to yow both. Give my love to your minister, to my aunts, and cusings, and all friends.—I remain, your loving son, ALEXANDER SHEILDS.

[*Addressed* :—] For Widow Sheilds in Ersiltoun. These with care.

[ANDREW CLARKSON AND PATRICK WALKER][1]

And in regard the said Mr. Clarkson had some time ago joined himself to Mr. M°Millan and those who adhered to him, who disowned the present civil authority, the said Mr. Clarkson likewise declared that he was resolved never to return to that practice.

It was reported to the Committee that Patrick Walker in Edinburgh was in this place, and that he had something to object why Mr. Clarkson should not be entered upon trials by this Presbytery; upon which the said Mr. Walker was called, and liberty was given him to propose any objection that he had to offer why the said Mr. Clarkson should not be entered upon trials; and Mr. Walker declared that he had nothing to object against Mr. Clarkson's moral character and behaviour, but that he had joined Mr. M°Millan who disowns the civil magistrate; and the moderator told Mr. Walker what was offered as above by Mr. Clarkson upon this head; and the said Patrick Walker declared himself satisfied therewith. Mr. Walker further objected some things that had pass'd in a private conversation betwixt himself and Mr. Clarkson, which he said had given him offence; as also he further objected

[1] From the *MS. Minutes of the Associate Presbytery*, 1733-1740, p. 304. John Hunter and Andrew Clarkson were the first two students of divinity taken on trials by the Associate Presbytery. The committee, from whose report the above extract is taken, met on the 21st of December 1737 at Kinross, and it was then and there that Patrick Walker lodged his objections. On the following day both Hunter and Clarkson gave 'satisfying answers' to the questions of the formula, and 'some pieces of trial' were then prescribed to them. At a later stage others—including 'Mr. Taylor' and 'Mr. Wright pewtherer in Edinburgh'—brought forward objections against Clarkson, the completion of whose trials was in consequence delayed for a considerable period. The M'Millanites did not forget to express their grief

that Mr. Clarkson had published a slandering libel against Mr. Taylor late minister at Whamphray; and Mr. Clarkson being heard on these particulars, Mr. Walker declared himself fully satisfied; and further the said Messrs. Clarkson and Walker declared themselves willing to forgive and bury whatever mistakes on either side had taken place, and took one another by the hand in presence of the committee.

because 'the Associate Presbytery have made subjection and loyalty to the present possessors of civil power a necessary term of communion, . . . as was done in the case of Mr. Andrew Clarkson, who behoved to make an open renunciation of his former principles on that point before they would license him' (*Declaration and Testimony published at Mount-Herick, near Crawford-John*, 1741, p. 39). Clarkson had apparently no misgivings as to his new principles, for he bluntly told some who had left the ordinances dispensed by the Associate Presbytery that they 'had left Christ behind' (*Truth in its Rags*, 1742, pp. 17, 18). He was ordained minister of Craigmailen in 1741, adhered to the Anti-burghers in 1747, and died in 1761 (Mackelvie's *Annals and Statistics*, 1873, p. 270).

LIST OF THE EDITIONS OF PATRICK WALKER'S WORKS EXAMINED FOR THIS REPRINT

1. 'Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of Mr. Alexander Peden. . . . Printed in the year MDCCXXIV.'

2. 'Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of Mr. Alexander Peden. . . . Edinburgh, Printed for and sold by Patrick Walker, at his House within Bristo-Port. MDCCXXV.'

3. 'So[me] Remarkab[le Passages] of [the] Life and [Death] of Mr. Alexander Peden. . . . Glasgow, Printed by James Duncan and are to be sold at his Shop in the Middle of the Salt-market. M.DCC.XXV.'

4. 'Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of Mr. Alexander Peden. . . . Edinburgh, Collected and Published by Patrick Walker; and to be sold at his House, within Bristo-Port, opposite to the Society-Gate. MDCCXXVIII.'

5. 'Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of Mr. Alexander Peden. . . . Glasgow: Printed for and sold by the Book-sellers, 1751.'

6. 'The Life and Prophecies of Mr. Alexander Peden . . . in two parts. . . . Falkirk: Printed by Daniel Reid, for the Booksellers, and sold by them, and at his Printing-Office, in the High-Street. M,DCC,LXXV. (Price Three Pence.)'

7. 'The Life and Prophecies of Mr. Alexander Peden . . . in two parts. . . . Glasgow: John Pryde, 215 Sauchiehall Street. 1868.'

8. 'Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of . . . Mr. John Semple, Mr. John Welwood, Mr. Richard Cameron. . . . Edinburgh: Collected by and Printed for Patrick Walker, and to be sold at his House within Bristol-Port. 1727.'

9. 'Some Remarkable Passages in the Life and Death of . . . Mr. Daniel Cargill . . . and with him Mr. Walter Smith. . . . Edinburgh, Printed for, collected and published by, Patrick Walker; and to be sold at his House within Bristo-port, at the Upper-gate of the Gray-friars Church. MDCCXXXII.'

10. 'The Life and Prophesies of that faithful Minister of God's Word, Mr. Daniel Cargill. . . . By Peter Walker, who was himself a sufferer in those days. Edinburgh: Printed and to be sold at the Printing-house in the West-bow, 1780.'

11. 'The Life and Prophecies of that faithful Minister of God's Word, Mr. Daniel Cargill. . . . By Peter Walker, who was himself a sufferer in those days. Falkirk, Printed and sold by Daniel Reid, 1782.—Price Four Pence.'

12. 'The Life and Prophesies of that faithful Minister of God's Word Mr. Donald Cargill. . . . By Peter Walker, who was himself a Sufferer in those days. Glasgow, Printed by J. & M. Robertson [No. 18] Saltmarket. 1806.'

13. 'The Life and Prophecies of Mr. Donald Cargill, sometime minister in the Barony Parish of Glasgow. . . . By Peter Walker, who was himself a sufferer in those days. Falkirk: Printed and sold by T. Johnston. 1823.'

14. 'Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of Mr. Alexander Peden, late Minister of the Gospel at New Glenluce in Galloway. With a Preface by the Publisher. The fourth edition. . . . Aberdeen: Printed and sold by James Chalmers. . . . M,DCC,LXIII.'

15. 'Biographia Presbyteriana. . . . Edinburgh: D. Speare, West Register Street; and J. Stevenson, Princes Street. M.DCCC.XXVII.'

16. 'Biographia Presbyteriana. . . . Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 87, Princes Street. M.DCCC.XXXVII.'

The editor of the *Biographia Presbyteriana* regarded the Glasgow 1725 edition as the original edition of *Peden*, and thought that it was 'probably printed for the author.' It was certainly not the original edition, and I cannot believe that it was printed for the author. On the back of the title-page there is this—'[Advert]isement. That the following Passages and Remarks were written by one who was a follower of Mr. Peden, and knew the most part of it himself; but for a more certain account he hath travelled some years ago 1000 miles in Scotlnad (*sic*) and Ireland, and hath the whole of what follows from these that were eye and ear witnesses to them, or had them from persons of good report and credit.' The text is simply a reprint of that of the 1724 edition, minus the long and interesting preface. On the other hand, the Edinburgh edition of 1725 is not a mere reprint of the 1724 edition, as a number of minute alterations have been made; and Patrick has not only substituted his name in full for his initials at the end of the preface, but has also placed it on the title-page. It is hard to say which of these 1725 editions was published first. The copy of the Glasgow edition of which I have had the use belongs to Mr. James Sinton, junior. It bears on the mended title-page the signature 'R. P. Gillies,' and on the fly-leaf a note certified by Mr. Gillies as being in the 'autograph of Mr. W. Scott.' Sir Walter's note runs thus:—'This is an early [if not the first—*deleted*]

edition of the life of the enthusiastic Peden a Cameronian minister during the persecution in the reigns of James II. and his predecessor. His hiding places are still shewn in the West of Scotland, where his memory is held in great respect. His Memoirs are quoted by Mr. Graham in the notes to his Sabbath and by Mr. Scott in the Border Minstrelsy.' The editor of the *Biographia Presbyteriana* also stated that Peden's Life was 'reprinted with additions and published by the author himself, at Edinburgh in 1726, and subsequently with thirty additional passages in 1728.' I have failed to find any trace of a 1726 edition, and cannot see how there could be such an edition 'published by the author himself,' as Patrick's 1728 edition is described on the title-page as 'a third edition,' and it is the third without reckoning the Glasgow one. In the 1728 edition (which has been followed in the present reprint) many alterations have been made, and much new matter has been introduced. Some of these alterations are rather important, and they enable me to state with certainty that Sir Walter Scott must have taken his quotations from the 1724 or one of the 1725 editions, or a reprint of one or other of them. The text of the 1751 edition of *Peden* has been taken from the Edinburgh 1725 edition; but it omits the preface and several pages at the end, and varies from it in a few minute details. In the 1775 edition of *Peden* the first part contains the text of the 1751 edition; the second part consists of the thirty additional passages first printed in 1728, and of some of the matter of the 1725 edition which had been omitted in that of 1751. The 1868 edition of *Peden* has evidently been derived from the 1775 one, although the title is abridged, and several alterations have been made in the text. The epitaph on the martyrs' tomb in Edinburgh has been added. Peden's 'Notes upon the Covenant of Redemption,' and two paragraphs, or more, have been omitted.

In the 1780 edition of *Cargill*, the title has been very much altered. Throughout the text a few trifling alterations and omissions have been made, and it has been greatly abbreviated by the bodily omission of all that follows Argyle's speech to Urquhart, which speech occurs on p. 61 of the present reprint. In place of the omitted matter there is a brief account of Argyle's rising, capture, behaviour in prison, and death, as also an account of the skirmish at Ayrsmoss and the execution of Rathillet. The 1782 edition of *Cargill* is practically the same as that of 1780 save that it omits the paragraph which in the present reprint begins on p. 37 and ends on p. 39. The 1806 edition of *Cargill* differs considerably in the title-page from that of 1780; but the text is the same, save that one short paragraph is omitted, as also is the account of the skirmish at Ayrsmoss and the execution of Rathillet. The 1823 edition of *Cargill*, both in the title-page and the text, most resembles the 1806

edition. In both the title has been made more fetching by referring to 'the great scarcity and dearth . . . when many died from want and bad provisions; and when the meal was as high as two shillings and sixpence the peck.' The 1823 edition also omits the account of the skirmish at Ayrsmoss and the execution of Rathillet; but includes 'the Torwood Excommunication,' which has been taken from the *Cloud of Witnesses*. In this 1823 edition, Patrick's phrase 'he had opened up himself' (*supra*, ii. 59) is altered into 'he had cast off his clothes.'

The 1763 Aberdeen edition of *Peden* is much more than Peden's Life. Although there is no reference on the title-page to *Semple, Welwood, and Cameron*, Patrick's volume on them is included. The most remarkable feature of this edition is that, while it omits Patrick's *Cargill and Smith*, it includes two lives which Patrick did not write. These are (1) 'Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of Mr. John Welsh,' and (2) 'Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of Mr. Robert Bruce.' No hint is given as to the authorship of these two lives, and no clue as to the source from which they have been derived. They have been taken from *The Fulfilling of the Scripture*. The 'Preface by the Publisher' mentioned on the title-page is Patrick's preface. The text of *Peden* follows the edition of 1728, and the text of *Semple, Welwood, and Cameron* that of the 1727 edition.

The *Biographia Presbyteriana* is in two volumes. The first contains Patrick's *Peden*, and his *Semple, Welwood, and Cameron*, and also William Wilson's *Letter to Patrick Walker*, and Andrew Harley's *Letter to his Friend in the Country*. The second volume contains Patrick's *Cargill and Smith*, and also Sheilds's *Life of Renwick*, etc. The unsold sheets of the 1827 edition were issued in 1837 with a new title-page.

Very few of the early editions of Patrick Walker's works seem to be in the public libraries. In Edinburgh I have only come across four, two in the Advocates' and two in the Signet. The two in the Advocates' are the 1724 *Peden*, and the 1727 *Semple, Welwood, and Cameron*. The latter has apparently belonged to Wodrow. The two in the Signet are the Edinburgh 1725 *Peden* and the 1780 *Cargill*. Sir Walter Scott says that Patrick's 'small tracts now bring a very high price, especially the earlier and authentic editions' (note to *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*). And in 1823, Kirkpatrick Sharpe felt grateful to Sir Walter, whose bounty had 'added ten pages more to an imperfect copy' he possessed, 'which,' he says, 'is great gain in a work that is now become so very scarce' (*Kirkpatrick Sharpe's Correspondence*, 1888, ii. 268, 269). Through the kindness of friends, who have temporarily supplemented my own collection, I have had the continuous use of copies of all the editions of Patrick's little volumes enumerated above, except the 1780 *Cargill*.

GLOSSARY[1]

Admiration, i. 184, *astonishment.*
Admired, ii. 25, *wondered.*
Aff, ii. 197, *off.*
Aires, ii. 193, *heirs.*
Airth, i. 111, *direction.*
'Aith, ii. 153, *faith.*
Als, i. 5, *also.*
Anent, ii. 89, *concerning.*
Aseayes, ii. 227, see *essays.*
Astrict, ii. 79, *legally bind.*
Attowr, ii. 194, *besides.*

Babee, i. 100, *half-penny.*
Backbond, ii. 103, *a bond acknowledging a restriction or obligation.*
Bairn, ii. 103, *child.*
Bairn-time, i. 96, *brood of children.*
Bairn's-play, i. 316, *child's-play.*
Bauchle, i. 153, *a feeble, useless creature.*
Bawdy-houses, i. 154, *brothels.*
Beetle, i. 258, *wooden mallet.*
Beild, ii. 28, *shelter.*
Belyve, i. 128, *soon.*
Bensil, i. 176, *outbreak, impetus.*
Bike, i. 83, *swarm.*
Billies, ii. 44, *comrades.*
Birk, i. 187, *birch.*
Bit, i. 269, *food.*
Bit calf, i. 124, *small calf.*
Blink, i. 267, blinke, blynk, ii. 127, *glimpse.*
Block, i. 111, *bargain, trade.*
Bluther, i. 148, *disfigure, blur.*
Boasted, i. 28, *tried to terrify.*
Bocking, i. 221, boaking, ii. 205, *retching.*
Boll, ii. 32, *six bushels of barley or oats, four of wheat, beans, or pease.*
Bonnack, i. 73, *bread baked on a girdle, a kind of cake.*
Bonny, i. 88, *pretty.*
Boots, i. 272, bootes, ii. 131, bootikin, i. 51, *an instrument in which the leg was crushed by wedges.*
Bottling, i. 62, *making up straw into bundles.*
Bra, i. 80, *fine.*
Bra's, i. 57, *best apparel.*
Brae, ii. 107, *hill, slope.*
Brae-sides, i. 33, *hill-sides.*
Brain'd himself, i. 104, *dashed out his brains.*
Brat, i. 269, *clothes, raiment.*
Brats, ii. 153, *children.*
Brave, *fine, excellent,* etc., as *brave houses,* ii. 45; *brave ladies,* i. 240; *brave opportunities,* i. 202; *brave scholars,* i. 119; *brave summer of the gospel,* i. 213.
Broadband, i. 8, *spread out as a sheaf on the band, openly exposed.*
Brod, i. 189, *prick.*
Bubbling, i. 240, *blubbering.*
Burn-side, i. 75, *side of a brook.*
Byre, i. 63, *cow-house.*

Carle, i. 187, *fellow.*
Carry, ii. 87, *act, behave.*
Chap, i. 229, *choose, fix upon.*
Chapine, ii. 182, *a measure equal to an English quart, or half a Scotch pint.*

[1] Some of the words occur frequently in the text or notes although only one reference is given. I have been greatly indebted to Mr. W. A. Craigie, Oxford, and Mr. Anderson, of Edinburgh University Library, for help with this glossary.

Chapping, i. 221, *beating.*
Chirurgeon, ii. 14, *surgeon.*
Clap, i. 82, *slap.*
Clatter, i. 21, ii. 27, *rattling.*
Clatter, ii. 106, *talk.*
Clatterers-away, i. 267, *chatterers-away.*
Cloik, ii. 122, *cluck.*
Clout, i. 75, *cloth.*
Cockups, i. 161, *cocked hats.*
Cognosce, ii. 126, *examine, scrutinise.*
Coldrife, i. 157, *chilly.*
Colegioners, ii. 98, *students.*
Common, i. 76, *debt.*
Conscionable, ii. 33, *conscientious.*
Constructed, ii. 90, *construed.*
Crack, i. 83, *talk.*
Crook a hough, i. 240, *bend a knee.*
Culters, i. 139, *ploughshares.*

Daft, ii. 142, *crazy, insane.*
Dantened, i. 109, *daunted.*
Darned, i. 82, *hid.*
Dawties, i, 307, *darlings, favourites.*
Deaved, ii. 117, *deafened.*
Decay, i. 124, *consumption.*
Delicts, ii. 161, *delinquencies.*
Devil-ha't, i. 38, *devil a whit.*
Dissle, i. 196, 337, *slight shower.*
Doit, i. 321, *a small coin, a penny Scots.*
Dotted, i. 29, doited, ii. 65, *stupid.*
Douce, ii. 157, *sedate, staid.*
Dow, i. 16, *may, are able to.*
Dowble, ii. 233, *copy.*
Drow, i. 124, *qualm.*
Durk, i. 233, *dirk, dagger.*

Egeall, ii. 224, *equal.*
Erd, ii. 128, *earth.*
Essays, ii. 210, aseayes, ii. 227, *trials, attempts.*
Evite, i. 147, *avoid.*

Failzie, ii. 194, *failure.*
Falsary, ii. 208, *forger.*
Fand, ii. 211, *found.*
Fardingales, i. 161, *crinolines.*
Fardle, ii. 182, *a quarter cake.*
Fechtand, ii. 128, *fighting.*
Feckless, i. 111, *feeble.*
Feelless, i. 32, *insensible, without feeling.*
Fegs, ii. 153, *faith.*
Fell, i. 258, *strange.*
Feriat, ii. 190, *observed as a festival.*
Ferly, ii. 168, *wonder.*
File, ii. 117, *contaminate.*
Fley, i. 57, *frighten.*
Flow moss, ii. 20, *moving bog.*
Forefaulture, ii. 202, forfaulter, ii. 211, *forfeiture.*
Four-hours, i. 228, *afternoon meal.*
Frezzy, i. 293, probably a misprint for *frenzy.*
Frist, i. 111, *give on credit.*
Furder, farder, ii. 194, *further.*
Furr, i. 213, fur, ii. 45, *furrow.*
Fyke and fling, i. 240, *fidget and caper.*

Gade of iron, ii. 115, gad of irne, ii. 221, *bar of iron.*
Gades, i. 59, *pointed sticks, goads.*
Gade-men, i. 59, *men who directed the oxen in ploughing.*
Gang, i. 59, *go.*
Gar, i. 229, *compel.*
Gast, ii. 107, *fright.*
Gate, i. 61, ii. 45, *way.*
Gavel, i. 134, *gable.*
Gleg, ii. 29, *gad-fly.*
Glut, ii. 56, *gush.*
Gollerings, ii. 25, *guggling sounds.*
Goodman, ii. 46, *farmer, head of a household*; goodman of the toll-both, ii. 233, *keeper of the prison.*
Gooms, ii. 106, *gums.*
Grat, i. 124, *wept.*
Grave-moulds, i. 288, *dust of the dead.*
Greet, i. 124, *weep.*
Grips, i. 59, *clutches.*
Groats, i. 244, *oats with the husks taken off.*
Gully, i. 199, guillie, ii. 189, *big knife.*
Gyse, i. 73, *fashion.*

Had up, ii. 105, *hold up.*
Hag and hash, i. 123, 224, 261, *hack and hew.*
Haill, i. 202, ii. 191, *whole.*
Halend, i. 134 (*Hallan*), *inner wall.*
Hand-spaik, i. 326, hand-spake, ii. 99, *hand-spoke.*
Hand-weal'd, i. 39, hand-waild, i. 238, *hand-picked, carefully selected.*
Harled, i. 248, *dragged.*
Heal, i. 253, *whole.*
Hell-browen, i. 340, *hell-brewn.*
Hen-wyle, i. 27, *stratagem.*
Holding, i. 148, *conclusive*; holding-est, i. 158, *most conclusive.*
Horning, ii. 194, *outlawry.*

Ilk, ii. 111, *same.*
Incastred, ii. 226, *incarcerated.*
Indytment, ii. 211, *indictment.*
Infang, ii. 50, see *Outfang.*
Ingyne, ii. 131, *instrument.*
Iniquous, ii. 42, 73, iniquious, ii. 225, *iniquitous.*
Instruct, i. 148, 155, *prove*; ii. 29, *mention.*
Isle, i. 97, *aisle.*

Jack, i. 167, *privy.*
Juggs, i. 330, *a kind of pillory.*

Ken, i. 83, 110, *know*; kend, ii. 193, *known.*
Know, i. 35, *knoll.*
Kythed, ii. 151, *shown, manifested.*

Lay, i. 313, *footing.*
Leal, i. 265, *honest.*
Letten, i. 92, *allowed.*
Lien by, ii. 74, *refrained.*
Lith, i. 15, 142, *joint.*
Loof-full, i. 70, *handful.*
Louse, i. 256, *loose.*
Lown-warm, i. 103, *calm and warm.*
Ly-by, i. 109, ii. 75, *standing aside, neutral.*

Mair, ii. 194, *more.*
Meikle, i. 80, *much*; ii. 26, *big.*
Minded, i. 156, *remembered*; minds, i. 110, *intends*; mind, ii. 31, *think of, care for.*
Mo, i. 112, moe, i. 245, *more.*
Moals, i. 113 (*mouls*), *earth.*
Moniplyes, i. 8, *the tripe which consists of many folds.*
Monshie, i. 244, monzie, i. 92, a corruption of *monsieur.*
Mony, ii. 28, *many.*
Moss, i. 82, *marshy place, a bog.*
Moss-hag, i. 82, *bog-hole.*
Mossy boguish ground, i. 77, *marshy ground.*
Moyen, i. 94, *influence.*
Muirburn, i. 42, moorburn, i. 13, *burning of heath.*
Mullered, i. 31, *crumbled.*
Mutchken, ii. 182, *a measure equal to an English pint.*

Night-gown, i. 187, *dressing-gown.* See *supra*, ii. 154, *n.* 30.
Nook, ii. 108, *corner.*
Notour, ii. 90, *notorious.*

'Od, ii. 153, *God.*
Overly, ii. 27, 153, *superficial.*
Outfang and infang, ii. 50. *Infang-thef* implies the right to judge and punish a thief caught within the grantee's jurisdiction. *Outfang-thef* gave the same power over a thief caught outside the grantee's jurisdiction (Innes' *Lectures on Scotch Legal Antiquities*, 1872, pp. 57, 58). The precise meaning which Patrick attaches to the phrase is not clear. Sheilds describes Bonshaw as 'a Borderer, a highway man, afterwards an officer of dragoons' (*Short Memorial*, 1690, p. 31).
Outgate, i. 111, ii. 81, *way of escape.*

Painful, i. 114, *painstaking.*
Pathed, i. 20, 32, *paved.*
Pawky wit, i. 307, *slyness.*
Pealings, ii. 226, *strippings.*
Peat-nook, i. 208, *peat-corner.*

Perquire, i. 119 (F., *par cœur*), *by heart.*
Pickle, i. 147, *a small quantity.*
Pirnie, ii. 106, *parti-coloured.*
Plack, i. 100, *fourpence Scots.*
Pock, i. 98, *bag.*
Pointed, i. 99, *precise.*
Pokmantie, ii. 206, *portmanteau.*
Prospect, i. 68, *a perspective glass.*
Publick ports, i. 67, *common harbours or havens*; i. 285, *city gateways.*
Pultron, ii. 205, *coward.*
Pyoted, i. 321, *piebald, variegated.*

Quha, ii. 199, quho, ii. 216, *who.*
Quhair, ii. 127, quher, ii. 230, *where.*
Quheras, ii. 230, *whereas.*
Quhilk, ii. 128, *which.*
Quhissill, ii. 122, *whistle.*
Quhom, ii. 230, *whom.*

Rap, ii. 113, *rapture.*
Rat-rythm, i. 352, *rigmarole.*
Recognosced, ii. 170, *rejudged.*
Redacted, ii. 72, *reduced.*
Red-wood, i. 362, *stark mad.*
Reeking-house, i. 74, *inhabited house.*
Rid-up, i. 89, *set in order.*
Rouling, i. 340, *rowing.*
Rooms, i. 194, *places, farms.*
Rounding, i. 113, *whispering.*
Round-spun, i. 208, *coarsely spun.*
Rud-hand, i. 41, *red-handed.*

Saal, ii. 153, *soul.*
Saughen-bush, i. 95, *willow-bush.*
Scarred, ii. 210, *frightened.*
Scunner, i. 26, *disgust.*
Shear, i. 12, ii. 29, *reap.*
Shield or sheep-house, i. 74, *shieling.*
Shooled, i. 288, *shovelled.*
Shoot the shower, i. 114, *escape the shower.*
Shot, i. 83, *shoved, thrust.*
Slacked, i. 114, *spent.*
Sleds, ii. 99, *sledges.*
Sojors, ii. 194, *soldiers.*
Souple, i. 189, *lithe, agile.*
Soupling, i. 221, *suppling.*
Speat, i. 194, *flood.*
Speir, i. 111, *ask.*
Spilt, ii. 22, *spoiled.*
Spunkies, i. 277, spunks, i. 278, *sparks.*
Spurgaw, i. 68, *gall with the spur.*
Stenchels, i. 343, *stanchions.*
Stirk, i. 124, *bullock between one and two years old.*
Stob, i. 97, ii. 108, *pierce.*
Stocks of kail, ii. 33, *cabbage plants.*
Straiking, i. 111, *giving exact measure.*
Swatches, i. 148, *samples.*
Swingle-trees, i. 59, *swinging bars to which the traces of a plough are fastened.*
Sybow, i. 186, *onion.*
Syllable, i. 36, *read carefully.*

Taigle, i. 131, *tease.*
Takin, ii. 128, *token.*
Teather, i. 246, *rope.*
Tent, ii. 109, *wooden shelter.*
Testificates, i. 28, *testimonials, certificates.*
Theats, i. 109, *traces.*
Thir, i. 71, *these.*
Thumbikins, i. 51, thumbekins, ii. 131, thummikins, ii. 219, *thumbscrews.*
Thorow, i. 228, *thorough*; i. 81, *through*; i. 268, *throughout.*
Thorterwood, i. 209, *cross-wood.*
Threave, i. 150, *two shocks or 'stooks' of grain.*
Throng, i. 243, *crowded.*
Tool, i. 231, *towel.*
Toom, i. 128, *empty.*
Topping, i. 103, toping, i. 294, *prominent.*
Touck of the drum, i. 113, *beat of drum.*
Tour, ii. 25, *turn.*
Tout, i. 222, *blast.*
Tow, i. 254, *rope.*
Tozy, i. 318, *tipsy.*

Trogs, ii. 153, *troth.*
Trow, i. 83, *believe.*
Tryst, ii. 20, *appointment.*
Tuschs, ii. 224, *tusks.*
Twine, i. 77, *lead circuitously.*

Umquhill, ii. 193, *lately deceased.*
Undercotted, i. 258, *? deep-seated.*
Unheard-of, i. 4, 30, *unprecedented.*
Upsitten, i. 31, *listless, callous.*

Vaige, ii. 194, *wander.*

Waff, i. 336, *breath.*
Waired, i. 65, *spent.*
Wallaway, ii. 39, *lamentation.*
Wan, i. 79, *got.*
Warsh, i. 157, wersh, i. 42, *insipid, tasteless.*
Weel-ken'd, ii. 158, *well-known.*
Whill, ii. 194, whyll, ii. 193, *until.*
Whinging, i. 362, *whining.*
Wicks, i. 199, *sides.*
Win, i. 81, *get.*
Wisned, i. 157, *shrivelled.*
Witty, i. 103, *clever, smart.*
Wylie, i. 167, *sly, cunning.*

Yool-even, i. 187, *Christmas-eve.*

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